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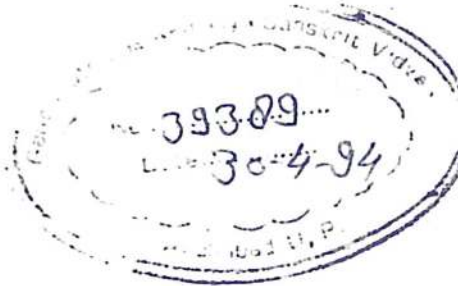
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SAṀSĀRA

By A. L. HERMAN*

In this paper, I want to trace quite rapidly the Indian doctrine of *saṁsāra* as that doctrine evolved and changed through four sets of texts and through four historical-philosophical periods. I will be examining the concept, but not the word, in the *Vedas,* the *Brāhmaṇas,* the early *Upaniṣads,* and finally in the *Bhagavad Gītā.* I believe that two things can be concluded as a result of this study: First, that the concept of *saṁsāra* changed through the four periods, but that the change in not as startling as has been supposed; and second, one can conclude, contrary to current theories, that a doctrine of *saṁsāra* satisfying certain assumptions can be found in the later *Vedas.*

The present paper is divided into four parts: (1) deals with whatever *Vedic* and *Brāhmanic* sources are available for exploration; (2) will discuss the *Upaniṣadic* sources, which are indeed much more abundant; (3) will show the turn events have taken with respect to our subject in the *Bhagavad Gītā* and (4) finally, will attempt to summarize our investigations with respect to the two points mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

1. *The Mobile Soul Doctrine in the Vedic Period*

'*Saṁsāra*' has been variously translated from the Sanskrit as 'transmigration', 'reincarnation', 'metempsychosis', 'rebirth' and 'the

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round of birth and death.' It has been identified with the Greek palingenesis and, as a consequence, it has been attributed as a belief to Homer, the Orphics, the Pythagoreans, and Plato, from which sources it has travelled thither and yon to the Gnostics, the Manicheans, Bruno, Goethe, Lessing, Herder, and various contemporary apologists from Max Weber to Wilmon Sheldon.

'*Saṁsāra*' is a Sanskrit word from the root '√sṛ' which means, variously, 'to flow', 'run swiftly', or 'glide'; conjoined with the prefix '*saṁ*', meaning 'with' or 'together', the word has the original sense of 'a flowing with or together', In the history of Indian thought where the most interesting evolution of the concept is detailed, the current scholarly belief is that the doctrine of rebirth, as I shall translate '*saṃsāra*', is a Dravidian and not an Aryan contribution to Hinduism.[1]

In the *Vedas* we first meet what might be called "the doctrine of the mobile soul". And since having a soul (a name for the traveling stuff) which can leave the body is, it would seem, necessary to any doctrine of *saṃsāra*, we can say that *saṃsāra*, however it may develop later, has its roots in the *Vedic texts*. In the early *Rig Vedas*, the dead go to the world of the Fathers: all the dead do this apparently, and no distinction is made between the souls

1. As the most popular philosophic doctrine in Hinduism, *saṁsāra* has a vast literature. For our purposes the following have been found useful as secondary sources: A. L. Basham. *The Wonder That Was India* (New York: Grove Press. 1954); M. Hiriyanna. *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1932); R. N. Dandekar. "The Role of Man in Hinduism," in *The Religion of the Hindus*, Edited by Kenneth W. Morgan (New York: The Ronald Press. 1953); Heinrich Zimmer. *The Philosophies of India* (New York: Bollingen Foundation. 1951); S. Radhakrishnan. *Indian Philosophy*, Two Volumes (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1951); Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. "On the one Only Transmigrant." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Suppl. 3. 1944.

For my primary sources I will be using S. Radhadrishnan and C. A. Moore. *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy* (Princeton University Press, 1957). hereafter. "S. B."; *Hindu Scriptures*, Nicol Macnicol. ed. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1938); Franklin Edgerton. *The Beginnings of Indian Philosophy* (London: George Allen and Unwin. Ltd.. 1965) and *The Bhagavad Gita* (Harvard University Press. 1944): *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in *Sacred Books of the East*, edited by Max Müller (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. 1963) hereafter. "S.B.E."; *The Thirteen Principal Upanisads*. Translated by Robert E. Hume (Oxford University Press. 1934).

of good men as opposed to wicked men. But in the later *Rig Veda*, the distinction is made, and the principle governing what goes where would seem to be, "Heaven for the righteous and hell for the wicked."[2] Thus in *Rig Veda* I, 35, three heavens are indicated or three abodes for the dead,[3] and in *Rig Veda* X. 14.8, there is the following:

> Unite Thou with the Fathers and with Yama.
> With thy good works reward in highest heaven.
> To home return, all imperfection leaving
> Unite with thine own body, full of vigour.[4]

The last verse not only points to a mobile soul but a mobile soul that is capable of going and then coming back—"returning" with good works. *Rig Veda* X. 15. 14 makes a reference to the rejoining or uniting with a body—a body that now is able to move to heaven:

> They who, consumed by fire or not cremated, joy in their offering in the midst of heaven.
>
> Grant them, O sovran lord, the world of spirits and their own body, as thy pleasure wills it.[5]

But while these later hymns are quite clear on the mobile soul's returning abilities, it is not clear that the earlier hymns are all in agreement on just what the status of the soul is once the body is dead. Thus while *Rig Veda* I. 154. 5 and 68 make a plain reference to the soul's surviving the body's death: "May I attain to that his well-loved mansion where men devoted to the gods are happy....Fain would we go to your dwelling place where there are many horned and nimble oxen,"[6] another early hymn, the lovely song to *Uṣas,* makes no such reference to soul-survival in a poem where it would seem to be most pertinent: "Dawn, at her rising, urges forth the living: him who is dead she wakes not from his slumber...."[7]

2. Cf. S. Radhakrishnan, *Op. Cit.,* Volume I, p. 115.
3. *S.B.,* p. 32.
4. *S.B.,* p. 32.
5. *Hindu Scriptures,* Edited by Nicol Macnicol, *Op. Cit.,* p. 25.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 12.
7. *Ibid.,* p. 10.

But however these early passages may tend to cloud the mobile soul issue, I think we can conclude that the *Rig Veda* does hold to two essential elements present as necessary conditions for any *saṃsāra* doctrine. Let me denominate these as:

S1: There is a soul and it is not bound to or identified with the place where it resides, e.g., the gross human body.

S2: One's separable soul can leave the gross body and travel about to trees, sky, and sun (*R.V.* X. 58) or to the abode of the fathers and/or Yama's world.

Rig Vedic saṃsāra, such as it is, holds only to S1 and S2. There is no mention of the mobile soul coming back to earth, however, and to this extent *Rig Vedic saṃsāra* differs from later developments to be described below.[8]

The *Atharva Veda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* are both much more explicit on the mobile soul doctrine. Edgerton in *The Beginnings of Indian Philosophy* translates *A.V.* 8. 10. 19,20,21 as follows:

> She [Viraj] ascended; she came to the Fathers (*manes,* or departed spirits). The Fathers slew her. In a month she came into being (again) .... She ascended; she came to the gods. The gods slew her. In a half month she came into being.... She ascended; she came to men. Men slew her. She came into being (again) immediately.[9]

And in the *Brāhmaṇas,* we have a theory of rebirth that ascends to yet a third stage of development. Thus, in *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* I. 5. 3. 14:

> Now the spring, assuredly, comes into life again out of the winter, for out of the one the other is born again: therefore he who knows this is indeed born again in this world.[10]

8. For disagreement on this point, however, see A. A. Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology* (Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1963), p. 166, and his discussion of *R.V.* 10. 16 and 10. 58; and also Kunhan Raja in "Pre-Vedic Elements in Indian Thought" and Deussen's counter to this kind of disagreement as described in Radhakrishnan *Op. Cit., Volume* I. pp. 115-116.

9. *Op. Cit.,* p. 84.

10. *S.B.E.,* Op. *Cit.,* Edited by Max Muller, Volume XII. p. 148.

From this we can conclude that by the time of the *Brāhmaṇas*, a third essential element is present for our doctrine of *saṁsāra* :

> S3: The mobile soul [S1 and S2] is mobile with respect to the world, i.e., it is *punar ha va 'asmin loke bhavate*, "born again in this world."

The goal-determining actions of the soul are however absent here, and it will remain for the *Upaniṣads* to make them explicit.

2. *Upaniṣadic Saṁsāra*

The *Upaniṣads* abound in rebirth doctrine, and the necessary elements of *saṁsāra*, S1, S2, and S3, are found from the oldest to the latest texts.[11] In fact, though the word *"saṁsāra"* first appears in *Katha Upaniṣad* 3.7, the whole notion is already present in the *Bṛhadāranyaka*, e.g., 4. 4. 4 :

> As a goldsmith, taking a piece of gold, reduces it to another newer and more beautiful form, just so this soul, striking down this body and dispelling its ignorance, makes for itself another newer and more beautiful from like that either of the fathers, or of the Gandharvas or of the gods, or of Prajāpati, or of Brahma, or of other beings.[12]

And in that later *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* we have,

> He, however, who has not understanding,
> Who is unmindful and ever impure,
> Reaches not the goal,
> But goes on to *saṁsāra* (reincarnation).[13]

But at least one element missing previously is that element which would explain to us the cause of rebirth, the rationale behind repeated birth. The *Upaniṣads* fill this *lacuna* very well, and I want to look briefly at two of the oldest *Upaniṣads*, since what they

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11. See the indexed references e.g., under "Reincarnation" in Hume's *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, pp. 581-582. All translations here are from Hume.

12. Hume. *Op. Cit.*, p. 140.

13. *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 3.7. *Op. Cit.*, p. 352.

say regarding rebirth and its rationale would seem to be presupposed by those *Upaniṣads* that came later.

In the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* a curious question prefaces the discussion of rebirth, and the question is repeated again prior to a similar discussion in the *Chāndogya* (5. 3. 3). In both *Upaniṣads*, a young *chela*, Śvetaketu, goes to a *Kṣatriya* teacher, Jaibali, and Jaibali asks the youth:

> 'Know you how people here, on deceasing, separate in different directions?'
>
> 'No', said he.
>
> 'Know you how they come back again to this world?'
>
> 'No', said he.
>
> 'Know you why younder world is not filled up with the many who continually thus go hence?'
>
> 'No', said he.[14]

Why doesn't that yonder world fill up, indeed? Could this have been a problem for Vedic Brahmins? The question is not explicitly answered in the *Bṛhadāranyaka*. Instead, there follows a description of the soul's journey after the body's death that takes those souls who know and those who truly worship faith to the *Brahma*-worlds from which they never return. But of the souls who practice charity, austerity, and sacrifice, they are born again on the earth; and those who do not know these two ways are reborn as insects and biting animals. Yonder world, presumably, never fills up because of the fact of rebirth. Thus there is a mirror, certainly, of the Vedic doctrine, but only a mirror of it. The *Bṛhadāranyaka* looks to three ends of the soul's going, *Brahma* world, the returners (as men, supposedly), and the returners as lower animals, while the *Vedas* provided (at least) three similar abodes for the departed soul.[15]

The *Chāndogya* gives a more explicit answer to our strange question about the non-filling up of heaven. At the same time it

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14. *B.U.*, 6.2.2. in Hume, *Op. Cit.*, p. 160.

15. Hell, The Heaven of the Fathers, and the Heaven of the Gods; cf. Macdonell, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 165–174.

repeats the reasons or ground for rebirth, but does it more explicitly. Thus, the question is asked again:

> 'Do you know how (it is that) yonder world is not filled up?'
> 'No, sir.'[16]

And later after a discussion of rebirth, we have

> Thereby (it comes about that) yonder world is not filled up.[17]

In between the question and this "conclusion' to it, there is the account of Śvetaketu's visit to Jaibali. And here the *Chāndogya* parallels but differs noticeably from the account in the *Bṛhadāranyaka*. First there is a virtual repetition of the description of the deaths of ascetics whose souls go to the gods. Then follows the account of the deaths of sacrificers whose souls go to the Fathers and are then reborn on earth as plants, trees, and beans, thus preventing a population explosion and ecological crisis in heaven. But following this, the *Chāndogya* provides a rationale for the mechanism and determination of rebirth by speaking of conduct, good and bad, as the determinator of how, when, and where rebirth shall occur. Thus it provides us with a *Upaniṣadic* criterion for *saṁsāra;* for, granted that the mobile soul must move and move into the world, we must have, to complete the picture, criteria regarding *who* goes *where* and *when*. If we did not, oddly enough, then concelvably all could be reborn at the same place, at the same time, though this might still happen, even with the criterion. In truth, no overcrowding problem in general has been solved at all, therefore, but only an overcrowding problem in the other world. There is nothing to prevent souls from being models of Brahmanic virtue, thereby filling up the wombs of matrons in some of the few most righteous families in the world community. The *Chāndogya* says:

> Accordingly, those who are of pleasant conduct here—the prospect is, indeed, that they will enter a pleasant womb.... But those who are of stinking conduct here—the prospect is, indeed, that they will enter a stinking womb....[18]

16. *C.U.*, 5.3.3. Hume. *Op. Cit.*, p. 230.
17. *C.U.*, 5.10.8. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
18. *C.U.*, 5.10.7, *Ibid.*

Accordingly as a necessary element in defining *saṁsāra* we would seem to have the following:

> S4: The determining conditions under which the mobile soul re-enters the world are conditions with respect to the conduct of the person in his previous life (Law of *Karma*).

That this conduct is moral conduct as opposed to intellectual, devotional or priestly-sacrificial conduct is borne out, I think by *C.U.* 5. 10. 9, which follows hard upon the above verses and in which the conduct one should seek to guard oneself against is mentioned. Thus the sinful are:

> The plunderer of gold, the liquor drinker
>
> The invader of a teacher's bed, the Brahman-killer—
>
> These four sink downward in the scale,
>
> And, fifth, he who consorts with them.

The *Upaniṣads* we have examined then, lend to the doctrine of *saṁsāra* a moral criterion in virtue of which the direction and end of rebirth may be gauged, described and, oddly, even predicted, i.e., good people get their good rewards, and the wicked get painful ones. This is not to gainsay other routes than moral conduct to a better birth, however, as will be explained next in 3.

3. *Saṁsāra in the Bhagavad Gītā*

There is one final dimension that remains to be given to our notion of *saṁsāra*. This is a broadening of the notion of "conduct" to include, besides moral conduct, other intellectual (*jñāna*) and devotional (*bhakti*) paths which lead to the surcease of *saṃsāra*. The mechanism of rebirth graphically described below, will thus add to itself later conditions of release even broader than those laid out in our discussion of the early *Upaniṣads* (I am aware of the *jñāna* and even *bhakti* elements in the *Upaniṣads*, but in so far as our treatment of *saṃsāra* in 2 did not display them, I am letting them enter more naturally here in our discussion of the *Gītā*).

As leaving aside worn-out garments, a man takes other, new

> ones, So leaving aside worn-out bodies to other, new ones goes the embodied (soul).[19]

With these picturesque words the doctrine of rebirth is introduced by Kṛṣṇa. From this point on, the *Gītā* will take at least three attitudes with regard to the determination of particular future embodiments. These attitudes are the three *mārgas* presented in the *Gītā*: *jñāna, bhakti,* and *karma mārga.* Since it is assumed, quite generally, that all three do have an effect on the mechanism of rebirth, determining souls upwards or downwards (and I don't know of any scholar who would deny this) we must assume that the kind of conduct specified in 2 above under S4 must now be broadened to include conduct specified by these three *mārgas.* Let me now move to the final essential element in *saṁsāra* and a summary of the preceding elements:

> S5: The determining conditions under which the mobile soul re-enters the world are conditions relating to the conduct of the person in his previous life, and that conduct can include intellectual, devotional and/or moral elements.

A complete discussion of S5 would necessarily lead us into a discussion of the following: The law of *Karma;* the re-birth doctrine with respect to *Kṛṣṇa,* who is also reborn but under conditions which might seem to violate S5; a discussion of the nature of the reincarnating soul or transmigrating stuff, its ontological nature, for instance; the order of importance of the three *mārgas,* i.e., which is paramount, and which might be said to include the other two, and so on; the three types of conduct as they specifically affect the soul; and, finally, how that soul is changed, if it is, by those types of conduct. We will not, unfortunately, be able to take up these matters in the present paper.

4. *Conclusion*

What I have tried to stress throughout this paper is the evolution of a concept, rebirth or *saṃsāra,* as that concept grew and developed in the ancient texts of India. S5 thus represents the final summary stage in that evolution and includes within itself,

19. II. 22 in Edgerton's translation. *Op. Cit.,* p. 11.

obviously, those earlier stages, S1 through S4. I think it is the case that the rebirth doctrine in later Hinduism (though not Buddhism) can be said to be generally described by S5.

We found in the *Vedas*, a mobile soul doctrine, where the direction of the soul to "heaven" or "hell" was dependent in some sense on "works". In the *Vedas*, at least the later *Rig Veda*, all the essential machinery for re-birth was apparently present, if by "rebirth" we mean what follows in S5. That is to say, S1 and S2 would appear to have all the rudiments of S5. Those rudiments certainly are there by implication, however unclearly and inexplicitly. Thus if one is rewarded in the highest heaven for good works (*R.V.* X. 14. 8), and if one's soul can return home after going out into a body, all that need be done is to further specify the nature of these works and identify the home as either heaven or earth, and then one has S5. Thus, contrary to what many scholars (e.g., Hume, Radhakrishnan, Edgerton, and Basham) have tended to say about the absence of *saṃsāra* doctrine in the Vedas, I think a strong case for it, or something very close to it, can be made out, once one grants that S1 and S2 are *Vedic* in origin.

THE NUMBER OF QUALITIES (*GUṆA*) IN ĪŚVARA ACCORDING TO ŚRĪDHARA: A RECONSIDERATION

By GEORGE CHEMPARATHY*

After commenting upon the section on Sṛṣṭi and Saṃhāra of Praśastapāda's Padārthadharmasaṃgraha, Śrīdhara gives us in his Nyāyakandalī a short excursus of his own on the existence and qualities (*guṇa*) of Īśvara. In the concluding part of this excursus he mentions two views regarding the number of qualities in Īśvara, one holding that Īśvara is possessed of eight qualities (*aṣṭaguṇādhikaraṇa*), the other maintaining that Īśvara is endowed with only six qualities (*ṣaḍguṇādhikaraṇa*).[1] The two views are mentioned in such a matter-of-fact way that they do not allow us to draw a conclusion therefrom as to which of them Śrīdhara accepted as his own.

In an article recently published in this journal[2] I had suggested that the author of the Nyāyakandalī accepted the view that Īśvara possessed only six qualities, namely the five general qualities (*sāmānyaguṇa*) of number (*saṃkhyā*), dimension (*parimāṇa*), individuality (*pṛthaktva*) conjunction (*saṃyoga*) and disjunction (*vibhāga*) as well as the spectific quality (*viśeṣaguṇa*) of cognition (*jñāna*), and that consequently we have to assume that Śrīdhara had conceived of the desire (*icchā*) and volition (*prayatna*) of Īśvara, not as qualities distinct from the cognition of Īśvara, but as identical in nature with it or as different aspects of it. Such a conclusion was based on a passage in an earlier section of the Nyāyakandalī. Later study has, however, made me sceptical about my interpretation of that passage and the conclusions derived from it. As

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1. Cf. Nyāyakandalī (hereafter abbreviated: NyKand.) p. 142. 3–9.
References to the NyKand. as well as to the Padārthadharmasaṃgraha (hereafter abbreviated: PDS) are from the edition of Durgadhar Jha Sarma; Praśastapādabhāṣya (Padarthadharmasangraha) with commentary Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdharabhatta along with Hindi translation. Varanasi 1963.

2. G. Chemparathy: The doctrine of Īśvara as exposed in the Nyāyakandalī. in: The Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute (=Umesha-mishra Commemoration Volume). Vol. XXIV (1968) pp. 25–38. For the problem under discussion see ibid. pp. 35 and 37.

a result of a reconsideration of the relevant passages in the Nyāyakandalī, the only work of Śrīdhara that has come down to us, I feel strongly inclined to the conclusion that, despite the fact that the author nowhere makes an explicit statement as to his own view of the number of qualities in Īśvara, he accepted the view that Īśvara possessed eight qualities.

My main reason for such a change of view is a new interpretation of the same passage on which my earlier view was based. This passage runs as follows :

> *īśvaro 'pi buddhiguṇatvād ātmaiva, na tu ṣaḍguṇādhikaraṇaś caturdaśaguṇādhikaraṇād guṇabhedena bhidyate, muktātmabhir vyabhicārāt.*[3]

For a correct interpretation of this passage it is of great importance to keep in mind the context in which it appears (and unfortunately I did not interpret this passage in such a context when I published my earlier article). After the verse of salutation to Īśvara and Kaṇāda, Praśastapāda states that the true knowledge of the six categories (*padārtha*) leads to liberation (*niḥśreyas*), and thereafter deals with each of these categories in succession, defining its nature and mentioning the entities that are included in it. With regard to substance (*dravya*) which is the first category, the author of the Padārthadharmasaṃgraha enumerates nine substances and adds that there are only nine of them (*navaiva*), "since the name of another [substance] different from these has not been mentioned [by the Sūtrakāra]".[4]

It is in the context of explaining how many substances there are that the passage of Śrīdhara quoted earlier occurs. He first comments on the text of Praśastapāda, explaining that there are only nine substances and no other, since "the omniscient Great Sage [i.e. the Sūtrakāra] who has set about to instruct [the living beings] in all realities, has not mentioned the name of another [substance] different from these nine."[5]

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3. NyKand. p. 26. 13-14.

4. PDS p. 20. 3—5: *tatra dravyāṇi....navaiveti. tadvyatirekeṇānyasya saṃjñānabhidhānāt.*

5. NyKand. p. 21. 9-10: *tebhyo navabhyo vyatirekeṇa sarvajñena maharṣiṇā sarvārthopadeśāya pravṛttenānyasya saṃjñānabhidhānāt.*

Having thus explained the statement of Praśastapāda, Śrīdhara proceeds to discuss in an excursus some theories which admit substances other than the nine mentioned by Praśastapāda. He first discusses in considerable detail the theory of those who maintain that darkness (*tamas*) is a substance having the qualities of colour, number, dimension, individuality, distance and nearness as well as conjunction and disjunction.[6] We shall not enter into the details of this discussion; important for our present purpose is the fact that Śrīdhara rejects the view of darkness as a substance and establishes that it is not an additional substance.

After showing that darkness is not a substance, Śrīdhara brings forward the passage on Īśvara quoted earlier in this article. The context in which it occurs shows that the topic of Īśvara is introduced here in order to point out that He is not to be conceived of as an additional substance over and above the nine mentioned by the authors of *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* and of the Padārthadharmasaṃgraha. The particle *api* in the expression *īśvaro 'pi* occurring, as it does after the refutation of darkness as an additional substance confirms such a view.

It is not without some reason that Īśvara is mentioned here in connection with the number of substances and that He is said to belong to Ātmā, one of the nine classes of substances; for we know from occasional references found in the philosophical literature that there were some thinkers in whose opinion Īśvara was so different from the other souls on account of His special qualities, that He could not be brought under the class of Ātmā. The argumentation of these thinkers to prove the special position of Īśvara in compari-

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6. Ibid. pp. 21. 11–26. 12.

The discussion on the nature of darkness is familiar to us from several philosophical works of this period. Cf. for example Udayana's Kiraṇāvalī (Bibl. Indica edition) pp. 83. 4 ff; Vyomavatī of Vyomaśiva (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. No. 61, Benares 1930) pp. 46. 32–47. 10. Probably the Vaiśeṣika school itself. during the very early stages of the formation of its doctrine of categories. conceived of darkness as a material element possessed of qualities. especially colour (*rūpa*). This view was before long given up to give place to the view which later came to be generally accepted in the school that darkness is nothing but the absence of light (Cf. E. Frauwallner: Geschichte der indischen Philosophie. Vol. II. Salzburg 1956. pp. 37–39). The Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṃsā admitted. in addition to the nine substances recognised by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas, two other substances. namely darkness (*tamas*) and souhd (*śabda*). while the Prābhākara school followed the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view.

son with the ordinary souls had logically led to a conception that He was a separate substance, a substance *sui generis* (*dravyāntaram*). We know, for instance, that Uddyotakara explicitly denied the view of his predecessor Pakṣilasvāmin who had held that Īśvara was another soul (*ātmāntara*), in other words, to be classed under the substance called Ātmā. Uddyotakara's reason for rejecting that view was: "because the qualities [in Him] are different [from the qualities of the ordinary souls].[7] Although he does not explicitly state that Īśvara is another substance (*dravyāntara*), nevertheless his explanation of the difference of Īśvara from the ordinary souls shows that he conceived of Him as a substance *sui generis*.

If we now try to understand the short passage of Śrīdhara in question with these facts in mind, it becomes clear to us that what the author wants to convey here is not so much the number of qualities of Īśvara as the fact that He, too, belongs to the class of Ātmā (*ātmaiva*) and that He is not an additional substance or substance *sui generis*, as some thinkers before him seem to have claimed. And, if we keep before us, while reading this passage of the Nayāyakandalī, a passage of the Nyāyavārttikam where Uddyotakara explains the difference of Īśvara from the ordinary souls on the ground of difference in qualities and maintains explicitly that Īśvara possesses only six qualities,[8] we are strongly inclined to assume that Śrīdhara refers here to the view of the author of the Nyāyavārttikam (and of those who followed his view) in order to reject it. The close similarity of ideas, and even of expression, lends support to such an assumption.[9]

In the light of these considerations, the passage of Śrīdhara can be thus translated :

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7. Cf. Nyāyavārttikam p. 951. 3: *nātmāntaraṃ guṇabhedāt*. In this statement *na ātmāntaram* is a rejection of the view of Pakṣilasvāmin expressed in Nyāyabhāṣyam p. 943. 6: *guṇaviśiṣṭam ātmāntaram īśvaraḥ*.

The references to Nyāyavārttikam (hereafter abbreviated NV) and Nyāyabhāṣyam are from the edition: Nyāyadarśanam with Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya, Uddyotakara's Vārttika....critically edited with notes by Amarendramohan Tarkatirtha and Hemantakumar Tarkatirtha (Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. XXIX, Vol. II, Calcutta 1944].

8. Cf. NV p. 951. 3—9.

9. Ibid. p. 951. 8: *ṣaḍguṇa ākāśavad īśvaraḥ* (=NyKand. p. 26. 13: *ṣaḍguṇādhikaraṇaḥ*). Further NV p. 951. 3-4: *nātmāntaraṃ guṇabhedat, tad yathā ... tathā guṇabhedena īśvaraḥ* (=NyKand. p. 26. 4:....*guṇabhedena bhidyate*).

"Īśvara, too, is only [i.e. no other than] a soul, since He possesses the quality of cognition; but as the subject of six qualities, He does not differ from [the ordinary soul] that possesses fourteen qualities through difference of qualities, [as some maintain,] since there would be a deviation in the case of the liberated souls".

Thus, it seems to me, the first part of the statement, namely *īśvaro 'pi buddhiguṇatvād ātmaiva* expresseh the view Śrīdhara, while the remaining portion is intended to reject another view that is opposed to his own. If my suggestion is correct, then the term *ṣaḍguṇādhikaraṇaḥ* found in the second part of the statement expresses. not the view of Śrīdhara, but that of the opponent whose view he rejects.

What, then, is the view of Śrīdhara himself concerning the number of qualities in Īśvara ?

It should, first of all, be observed that no explicit statement of Śrīdhara on this point can be found in the Nyāyakandalī which. as we said, is the only work of his that has come down to us. But a study of some of the passages of this work inclines me to believe that he followed the view of those who held Īśvara to possess eight qualities : the five general qualities of number, dimension, individuality, conjunction and disjunction as well as three specific qualities of cognition (*jñāna*), desire (*icchā*) and volition (*prayatna*). If it can be shown that Śrīdhara admitted in Īśvara desire and volition, then it follows that he admitted in Him eight qualities, since there is no doubt that he ascribed to Him the other six.

There are passages in the Nyāyakandalī that allow us to conclude that Śrīdhara admitted the quality of desire (*icchā*) in Īśvara. For, in his commentary on the text of the Padārthadharmasaṃgraha (section on *sṛṣṭi* and *saṃhāra*), he speaks of *maheśvarecchā* in general as well as of the *saṃhārecchā* and *sarjanecchā*.[10] No doubt, he uses these terms while explaining the text of Praśastapāda where the *sisṛkṣā* and the *saṃhārecchā* of Īśvara are spoken of; but the fact that he nowhere denies the quality of desire in Īśvara inclines us to assume that he accepted the view of Praśastapāda. This assumption is

10. Cf. NyKand 124. 16 (*maheśvarecchā*); 124. 11 (*maheśvarasya saṃhārecchā*); 124. 15 (*maheśvarecchā saṃjihīrṣālakṣanā*); 127. 15 (*sarjanecchā*).

further strengthened by another passage where Śrīdhara clearly speaks of *īśvarecchā*, though this term does not occur in the passage commented upon. While commenting upon the text of Praśastapāda: *taccesvaracodanābhivyaktād dharmād eva*, Śrīdhara defines *codanā* and explains *īśvaracodanā* as *īśvarecchāviśeṣaḥ*, a particular variety of the desire of Īśvara.[11] Hence it seems to me legitimate to assume that he admitted the quality of desire in Īśvara.

Moreover, there is another passage in his excursus on Īśvara which reveals that Śrīdhara acknowledged in Īśvara not only eternal desire, but also eternal volition (*prayatna*). While discussing with the opponent on the role of the body (*śarīra*) in an agent (*kartā*), he argues that body is not an absolutely necessary condition to be an agent and that, even in cases of agency where it is required, as in the case of the agency of the embodied soul in setting its body in motion, it is required only in order to produce desire and volition. However, the production of desire and volition, continues he, are necessary only in the case of agents in whom these qualities are adventitious (*āgantuka*), but not in the case of an agent in whom these qualities of desire and volition belong to his very nature (*svābhāvika*). And there is no contradiction in these qualities being eternal, since qualities could be either eternal or non-eternal according to the nature of the subjects in which they inhere.[12]

If we keep in mind that the discussion of Śrīdhara with the opponent was precisely on the necessity or otherwise of the body for the agency (*kartṛtva*) of Īśvara, it is clear that the agent in whom desire and volition are said to belong to his nature (*svābhāvika*) and eternal (*nitya*) is none other than Īśvara. Moreover, which agent other than Īśvara is there to whom Śrīdhara would ascribe eternal and connatural desire and volition?

Thus, in spite of the fact that Śrīdhara does not explicitly tell us which of the two views regarding the number of qualities in Īśvara he follows, it seems legitimate to conclude that, since he acknowledges in Īśvara, besides the five general qualities, also the specific qualities of cognition, desire and volition, he follows the view generally accepted by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas of his period, namely that Īśvara is endowed with eight qualities (*aṣṭaguṇādhikaraṇa*).

11. Ibid. p. 19, 7: *dharmo 'pi tāvan na niḥśreyasaṃ karoti yāvad īśvarecchayā nānugṛhyate.* Further: Ibid. p. 19, 9–11: *īśvaracodanā īśvarecchāviśeṣaḥ.... īśvarecchāviśeṣeṇa kāryārambhābhimukhīkṛtād dharmād eva niḥśreyasaṃ bhavatīti vākyayojanā.*

12. Ibid. p. 136, 6–140, 5.

ASAṄGA IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE**

By KARUNESHA SHUKLA*

Previously, Asaṅga was regarded as the founder of the Yogācāra Vijñānavāda,[1] but since the historicity of Maitreyanāthapāda has finally been decided,[2] it is now well established that Maitreyanātha and not Asaṅga was the founder of the Yogācāra system. He was a great exponent of the Vijñānavāda School and being a direct disciple of Maitreyanātha, commented on his Yogācāra treatises,[3] with the result that he became more popular than his guru whose name gradually paled into insignificatnce.[4] And consequently, the works of Maitreyanāthapāda, on which Asaṅga commented, were taken to be the work of a single author, and a mist shrouded over the minds of scholars who began to regard Asaṅga as the single author of these treatises.[5]

In the Indian Buddhist tradition, our author is regarded as the chief exponent of the Vijñanavādha school, who, after Maitreyanātha, started the tradition of Prajñāpāramitā commentary,[6] which was

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** These abreviations have been used: AAA=*Abhisamayālaṅkārațīkā;* AA=*Abhisamayālaṅkāra Kārikāśāstraṁ* of Maitreyanātha; AKV=*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya;* JMN=*Jñānaśrīmitra-nibandhāvali; MSA=Maha-yanasu-tralaṅkāra;* SSK=*Sakarasangraha sutra;* HIL=*History of Indian Literature.*

1. Vide, *HIL,* II. 352.

2. Ibid, loc. cit., Sn. 3, Vide, Ui, Zii, VT (1928), p. 215, sq; H.P. Shastri, IHQ, I. 465 sq; HIL, II 354; Tucci, On Some Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreyanātha and Asaṅga, P. 8 sq.

3. *Viz.* MSA, AA.

4. Vide Tucci, ibid, p. 7 sq. 11.

5. Cp. Lé'vi, MSA, II. 159, 190.

6. Ch. AAA, P. 306. 14–19 :

किं च आर्यासङ्गप्रभृतीनामेवेदं व्याख्यानं लिख्यते इति प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्यम् । तथा हि श्रूयते विदितसमस्तप्रवचनार्थो लब्धाधिगमोऽप्यार्यासङ्गः पुनरुक्तबाहुल्येन अपुनरुक्तप्रदेशेऽपि प्रत्येकपदव्यवच्छेदादर्शनेन गाम्भीर्याच्च प्रज्ञापारमितार्थमुन्नेतुमशक्तो

followed by a galaxy of scholars, teachers and commentators, including among others, Vasubandhu, Bhadanta Vimuktisena and Ārya Vimuktisena.[7]

At the beginning of his *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-ṭīkā*, Haribhadra reports that;[8] "For bringing to the worldly beings immersed in the multitudes of defilements operating in midst of the mundane existence, in its entirity, the Supreme Deliverance of the Yogins who know the phenomenality as phantom and illusion, the compassionate, venerable Maitreya wrote (this) more intelligible and significant verse-commentary (called *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-prajñāpāramit-opadeśa-Śāstraṁ*) in the Prajñāpāramitā system.

" (And then), having a brilliant fame (*prabhāsvarayass'āḥ*), Ārya Asaṅga, foremost among the talented ones, endowed as he was with the faculty of composing it, wrote a bhāṣya on *Tattva-viniścaya;* and the exalted Ācārya Vasubandhu, through the supposition of his sharp knowledge of the distinction between the ends of being and non-being, having acquired the authority in the expression of the import of the (Prajñāpārmitā) system (also wrote a commentary thereon) . . . . ."

Similarly, Yaśomitra in his AKV, a sub-commentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma-Kośabhāṣya* mentions Asaṅga as a "pūrvācārya" in the Yogācāra tradition.[9]

दौर्मनस्यमनुप्राप्तः। ततस्तमुद्दिश्य मैत्रेयेण भगवता प्रज्ञापारमितासूत्रं व्याख्यातम्, अभिसमयालङ्कारकारिकाशास्त्रं च कृतम्। तच्छ्रुत्वा पुनरार्यासङ्गेन आर्यवसुबन्धुप्रभृतिभिश्च व्याख्यातमित्यलं प्रसङ्गेन।

7. Ibid., Introductory Verse, 2-3, p. 267. 17–24.

8. मायारूपसमानभावविदुषां मुक्तिं परां योगिनां
संसारोदरवर्तिदोषनिचये संमूर्च्छितान् देहिनः।
मैत्रेयेण दयावता भगवता नेतुं स्वयं सर्वथा
प्रज्ञापारमितानये स्फुटतरा टीका कृता कारिका॥
भाष्यं तत्त्वविनिश्चये रचितवान् प्रज्ञावतामग्रणीः
आर्यासङ्ग इतिप्रभास्वरयशस्तत्कर्तृसामर्थ्यतः।
भावाभावविभागपक्षनिपुणज्ञानाभिमानोन्नतः
आचार्यो वसुबन्धुरर्थकथने प्राप्तास्पदः पद्धतौ। ibid. verse 1-2.

9. पूर्वाचार्याः योगाचारा आर्यासङ्गप्रभृतयः।
AKV, III, (ed. N. N. Law), p. 34. ad AK. III 15–C.

Jñānaśrīmitra of the eleventh century also gives him a place of honour and cites him as an authority and his predecessor in the field of Baudhha Nyaya along with Ārya Maitreyanāthapāda, Vasubandhu, Kumāranātha, Diṅnāga, Dharmakīrti and Prajñākaragupta.[10]

Haribhadra mentions Ārya Asaṅga as the first exponent of the Prajñāpāramitā-doctrine after Ārya Maitreyanāthapāda[11] and literally quotes a passage from his commentary on the AA e.g., while commenting on the Kārikā II.15,[12] he quotes the following passage:

"तृतीयं मृद्वधिमात्रं कथयन्नाह ………।"…बोधिचित्ताश्रयत्वादाश्रयपरमतया सकलवस्तुसमुदाचाराद्वस्तुपरमतया। सर्व्वसत्त्वहितसुखाधिकारत्वादधिकारपरमतया। निर्विकल्पज्ञानपरिग्रहादुपायकौशल्यपरमतया। अनुत्तरसम्यक्सम्बोधिपरिणतत्वात्परिणामपरमतया। क्लेशज्ञेयावरणनिवारणसमुदागमात् विशुद्धिपरमतया च प्रत्येकं दानादिपारमितानां लक्षणम्…इत्यार्यासङ्गः।

A line describing the nature of puṇya and āniñjya Karma from the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* of our author has also been referred to and literally quoted by Haribhadra[13] and a passage explaining the

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10. आर्यासङ्गमनङ्गजिन्नयवहो यद्भूपतीशोऽन्वशात्
आचार्यो वसुबन्धुरुद्धुरमतिस्तस्याज्ञयादीद्युतत्।
दिग्नागोऽथ कुमारनाथविहितासामान्यसाहायक-
स्तस्मिन् वार्तिकभाष्यकारकृतिनोरद्यानवद्या स्थितिः॥

JMN. P. 506; vide. Thakur. A.L.. Introduction to JMN. P. 4-5.

11. Cp. AAA, P. 557. concluding verse 2-a:

आर्यासङ्गमतानुसारिसुधियां निर्मत्सराणां सतां………

12. सर्वतो दमनां नाम सर्वतः क्लेशनिर्जयः।
उपक्रमाविषह्यत्वं बोधिराधारपूज्यता॥

13. बहुपुण्यं प्रसवेदिति। बहुपुण्यमिति यदि नाम अभिधर्मसमुच्चये नामभेदः कृतः" कामप्रतिसंयुक्तं कुशलं पुण्यम्। रूपारूप्य-प्रतिसंयुक्तमानिञ्ज्यम्।" इति तथाप्यत्र सामान्येन कुशलं पुण्यं ज्ञेयं रूपधातावप्यस्यार्थस्य संभवात्।

AAA. P. 364; the printed text as restored from the Sino-Tibetan versions by Prof. Prahlad Pradhan has:

"पुण्यकर्म कतमत्। कामप्रतिसंयुक्तं कुशलं कर्म। अपुण्यकर्म कतमत्। अकुशलं कर्म। आनिञ्ज्यकर्म कतमत्। रूपारूप्यप्रतिसंयुक्तं कुशलं कर्म।

(*Abhidharmasamuccaya* P. 54. 20-21).

content of the AA (I.43) has also been referred to by the same author.[14]

Similarly, Jñānaśrīmitra also refers to Asaṅga as an authority on the Yogācāra Idealism and profusely quotes from his commentary on the MSA in his *Sākārasiddhiśāstra* and *Sākārasaṅgrahasūtra*. He often quotes the *Sutrālaṁkāra* and then refers to or literally quotes from the commentary of *Asaṅga* thereon as *'atra bhāṣyam'*.[15] It is significant to note in this connection that the printed

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14. AA. I. 43:

सर्वसत्त्वाग्रता चित्तत्प्रहाणाधिगमत्रये ।
त्रिभिर्महत्त्वैरुद्देशो विज्ञेयोऽयं स्वयंभुवाम् ॥

AAA. P. 310;

तत्र संनाहप्रस्थानप्रतिपत्ती यथासंख्यं पारम्पर्येण साक्षात् प्रयोगस्वभावे संसाराधिमुक्तिचर्याभूमिसंगृहीते । संभारप्रतिपत्तिर्दयामारभ्य धारणीपर्यन्तेन साक्षात्प्रयोगमार्ग-स्वभावाविमात्राग्रधर्मसंगृहीता, प्रथमप्रमुदिताभूमिस्वभावा संभारप्रतिपत्ति-दर्शनमार्गात्मिका । द्वितीयादिभूमिस्वरूपा भावनामार्गस्वभावा । प्रतिपक्षात्मिका च संभारप्रतिपत्तिरुभयमार्गगोचरा । निर्याणप्रतिपत्तिर्भावनामार्गाधिष्ठानां" इत्यार्यासङ्गः ।

15. JMN. P. 484 sq:— तदेव विस्तरेण दर्शयन् सभाष्यः सूत्रालङ्कारः, XI. 15—XI. 23 with commentary (P. 59-60);

एतेन यः सभाष्यः सूत्रालङ्कारः MSA IX. 62 with commentary (P. 457, JMN. P. 495. the second line of the verse quoted by Jñānaśrīmitra forms part of the commentary in Le'vi's ed;

अत एव यदप्युक्तं सूत्रालङ्कारे त एव विकल्पा न पुनर्द्वयाभासाः प्रवर्तन्त इत्येवं व्यवदानं पर्येषितव्यम्........

JMN, P. 507; MSA. VI. 7—ab:

तथा च तत्रैव, अर्थान् स विज्ञाय च जल्पमात्रान् सन्तिष्ठते तन्निभचित्तमात्रे । इत्यत्र भाष्यम् मनोजन्यमात्रानर्थान् विदित्वा तदाभासे चित्तमात्रे व्यवस्थानमियं बोधिसत्त्वस्य निर्वेधभागीयावस्था । ततः परेण धर्मधातोः प्रत्यक्षतागमनम्, यो द्वयलक्षणेन विमुक्तो ग्राह्यग्राहकलक्षणेन । इयं दर्शनमार्गावस्थेति ।'

JMN. loc. cit.; besides these citations, MSA with *bhāṣya* has been quoted in S. S. Sū.. II. 104-105. JMN. P. 537; *bhāṣya* only has been quoted in S. S. Sū. II. 123. P. 539

सांभोगिकेन कायेन संबद्ध इति भाष्यतः ।
संभोगे सति तद्धर्मस्तेन सम्बन्धमर्हति ॥

bhāṣya with MSA, IX. 51 has also been referred to in S. S. Sū., II 105 (vide MSA. IX. 51. P 43; JMN. P. 537. S. S. Su. II. 104; See also JMN. P. 501); S. S. Sū.. II. 128—192 too makes a pointed reference to the MSA and *bhāṣya* thereon.

text on the MSA with the commentary of Asaṅga thereon widely differs from that of the portions quoted by Jñānaśrīmitra.[16] He also incorporates some of the vices expounded by Asaṅga along with Maitreyanatha in the second chapter of his *Sakarasamigraha-sutra,* quotes Maitreyanatha and Asaṅga along with several other authors and names it *"Āryasaṅga-Yuvarājoktinirṇaya-h."*[17] At one place, he suggests a study of the Sūṭrā laṅkāra of Arya Maitreyanatha with the Bhasya of Asaṅga for a clear grasp of the philosophy expounded in the *Sākārasamgrahasūtra* and the *Sākārasiddhi-śāstra*:

सूत्रालङ्कारमार्यीयं भाष्ययुक्तं च चिन्तय ।
यत्र रूपादिराख्यातः परतन्त्रपरिस्फुट ।।[18]*

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16. For example. MSA. IX. 51 (JMN. P. 501)

क्वाचिद्धर्म्यं चक्रं बहुमुखशतैर्दर्शयति स
क्वचिज्जन्मान्तर्द्धिं क्वचिदपि च चित्राञ्जनवराम्२ ।
क्वचित् कृत्स्नां बोधिं क्वचिदपि सनिर्माणमसक्३ ।I
न्न च स्थानात्तस्माद्विचलति स सर्वञ्च कुरुते ।।

१. क्वचिद्धर्मश्चक्रं, २. विचित्राञ्जनचरीम् and ३. च निर्वाण.. ....;
Cp. also. MSA. IX 62 referred to Supra. fn. 15. MSA. XI. 15. P. 59 and JMN. P. 484; Cp. also Comm. ad XI. 12 (MSA. P. 59–17) with JMN P. 485. X 21 with JMN. loc. cit; XI. 23 with JMN. P. 486.

17. JMN. P. 542:

इति धर्मकायस्वरूपचिन्तापर्यन्तप्रवचन—
मार्यासङ्गयुवराजोक्तिनिर्णयो द्वितीयः

18. JMN. P. 532.

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A NOTE ON ALAṄKĀRA IN A VERSE OF KĀLIDĀSA'S *MEGHADŪTA*

By BANDANA CHATTERJI*

Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* is a well-known lyrical piece of Indian classics. Its story, in brief, runs as follows:—

A certain Yakṣa, madly in love with his wife, neglected his duty, for which he was banished by his master Kubera for one year. Being thus separate from his lovely consort he began to live at Rāmagiri in the Vindhya mountains. After spending eight months in that solitary place he saw a piece of cloud in the sky. Finding that the cloud was moving towards his home Alakā he resolved to send a message through it to his beloved wife, who, he thought, was weeping miserably and mourning for her husband. The descriptions of the route to be followed by the cloud, of the city of Alakā, and of the Yakṣa's wife, together with the message of the grief-striken Yakṣa, cover the entire *Meghadūta*.

As is natural with human beings, specially a passionate and loving husband, the Yakṣa looked upon his wife as the most beautiful lady in the world. Thus, in the verse—

श्यामास्वङ्गं चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणे दृष्टिपातं
वक्त्रच्छायां शशिनि शिखिनां बर्हभारेषु केशान् ।
उत्पश्यामि प्रतनुषु नदीवीचिषु भ्रूविलासान्
हन्तैकस्मिन्क्वचिदपि न ते चण्डि सादृश्यमस्ति ॥[1]

he fancied the body of his beloved in the Priyaṅgu creepers, her glances in the eyes of bewildered female deer, the beauty of her face in the moon, her hair in the plumage of peacocks and the sportive moments of her eye-brows in the gentle ripples of rivers, failing to find all these beauties combined in any single object except his charming wife. From this verse it is evident that the outstanding beauty of the Yakṣa's wife was highly impressive and

* C|o Dr. R. C. Hazra, P. 555|B Panditya Road Extension, Calcutta 29.

1. *Meghadūta* (ed. M. R. Kale, sixth edition, Bombay), ii (Uttaramegha) verse 44, p. 167.

surprising and also extra-ordinarily graceful.[2] As a matter of fact, Kālidāsa delineates the Yakṣa's wife as a bewitchingly charming female by following the mind of her husband, who, because of his ardent love, found reasons for suspecting that even the cloud might develop a passion for her. In order to discourage the latter getting passionately attracted to his wife, the Yakṣa cleverly described her as a chaste wife solely devoted to himself (cf. 'एकपत्नीम्') and created a relationship between himself and the cloud by calling it his brother.[3]

In describing the physical beauty of the Yakṣa's wife in the latter part of the *Meghadūta* Kālidāsa writes:—

तन्वी श्यामा शिखरिदशना पक्वबिम्बाधरोष्ठी
मध्ये क्षामा चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणा निम्ननाभिः।
श्रोणीभारादलसगमना स्तोकनम्रा स्तनाभ्यां
या तत्र स्याद्युवतिविषये सृष्टिराद्येव धातुः ॥

In this verse Kālidāsa compares the Yakṣa's wife with a female who is the creator's first creation in the domain of young women (cf.). He also describes her as slender-bodied, youthful without attaining motherhood (cf. 'श्यामा'), thin-waisted, possessed of ponted teeth, lips like a ripe Bimba (fruit), eyes like those of a timid fawn, and a deep navel, walking slowly due to the weight of her hips, and slightly stooping on account of her breasts. All this description shows that the poet wants to paint

2. See Mallinātha's statement

"अनेनास्याः सौन्दर्यमनुपममिति व्यज्यते"

in his commentary on *Meghadūta* ii. 44 quoted above.

3. *Ibid.*, i (Pūrvamegha). verse 9. p. 20—

तां चावश्यं दिवसगणनातत्परामेकपत्नी-
मव्यापन्नामविहतगतिर्द्रक्ष्यसि भ्रातृजायाम्।
आशाबन्धः कुसुमसदृशं प्रायशो ह्यङ्गनानां
सद्यःपाति प्रणयि हृदयं विप्रयोगे रुणद्धि ॥

Mallinātha comments:

"एकपत्नीम् एकः पतिर्यस्याः सा एकपत्नीताम्। पतिव्रतामित्यर्थः।......
......भ्रातुर्मे जायां भ्रातृजायाम्। भ्रातृवन्निःशङ्कं दर्शनीयामित्याशयः।"

4. *Ibid.*, ii, verse 22, p. 137.

the picture of the Yakṣa's wife as an extremely beautiful and delicate young maid.

The commentator Mallinātha also explains the intention of the poet by remarking "तथा चास्मिन्प्रपञ्चे न कुत्राप्येवंविधं रामणीयकं रमणीरत्नमस्तीति भावः."[5] But he at the same time explains the words "आद्या सृष्टिः" as "प्रथमशिल्प" ("first work of art") without noticing the implication of the word "युवतिविषये" and states that the figure-of-speech in the verse noted above is उत्प्रेक्षा.[6] Other reputed commentators such as Vallabhadeva,[7] Bharata Mallika,[8] Dakṣiṇāvartanātha,[9] Cāritravardhanācārya[10] and Pūrṇasarasvatī also explain the verse in the same way as Mallinātha.

By 'आद्या सृष्टि' Mallinātha means 'first creation' in general and assumes that due to serious attempt the 'first creation' of an artist often becomes perfect. But this assumption is not true, for, the 'first creation' of an artist is not necessarily his best in spite of the most earnest efforts on his part. In fact, perfection in attained by an artist after repeated attempts. प्रतिभा (genius) alone is not enough for the attainment of perfection in art; अभ्यास (continued practice) is absolutely necessary for the purpose. It is, therefore, evident that the two statements of Mallinātha, viz.. " आद्या सृष्टि प्रथमशिल्पम् इव स्थितेत्युत्प्रेक्षा, प्रथमनिर्मिता युवतिरियमेवेत्यर्थः, प्रायेण शिल्पिनां प्रथमनिर्माणे प्रयत्नातिशयवशाच्छिल्पनिर्माणसौष्ठवं दृश्यत इत्याद्यविशेषणम्" and "तथा चास्मिन्प्रपञ्चे न कुत्राप्येवंविध रामणीयकं रमणीरत्नमस्तीति भावः' are contradictory to each other.

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5. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

"युवतय एव विषयस्तस्मिन् युवतिविषये। युवतीरधिकृत्येत्यर्थः। धातुः ब्रह्मणः आद्या सृष्टिः प्रथमशिल्पम् इव स्थितेत्युत्प्रेक्षा। प्रथमनिर्मिता युवतिरियमेवेत्यर्थः, प्रायेण शिल्पिनां प्रथमनिर्माणे प्रयत्नातिशयवशाच्छिल्पनिर्माणसौष्ठवं दृश्यत इत्याद्यविशेषणम्। तथा चास्मिन्प्रपञ्चे न कुत्राप्येवंविधं रामणीयकं रमणीरत्नमस्तीति भावः। तदेवंभूता या स्त्री तत्र अन्तर्भवने स्यात्। तत्र निवसेदित्यर्थः। तामित्युत्तरश्लोकेन सम्बन्धः।"

7. *Meghadūta*, (ed. R. R. Deshpande. second edition. Bombay 1947) p. 65.

8. *Meghadūta*, (ed. J. B. Choudhury. Calcutta. 1951). p. 62.

9. *Meghasandeśa*, (ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī. Trivandrum. 1919). p 52.

10. *Meghadūta*, (ed. Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī Khiste. Benares. 1931). p. 62.

11. *Meghasandeśa*, (ed. R. V. Krishnamachariar. Srirangam. 1926), p. 122.

In the *Matsya-purāṇa*[12] we come across a story regarding the love-affair of Brahmā with his daughter Śatarūpā. The story relates that for the sake of creation Brahmā broke up his body into two parts, of which one became a male (who was Brahmā himself) and the other turned into as extremely beautiful female having various names such as Śatarūpā, Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī and Brahmāṇī. As Śatarūpā was born from Brahmā's own body (स्वदेहसम्भूता), she was adopted by him as his daughter (आत्मजा) but at her sight Brahmā became so much afflicted with sexual passion that in spite of being forbidden by his mind-born sons again and again he could not check himself from casting a passionate glance at her. In praise of her beauty he exclaimed: "Oh, the beauty! Oh, the beauty!" Though he felt ashamed at this conduct of his in the presence of his sons, he felt such a great desire to enjoy the sight of Śatarūpā that at the time of her going round him for salutation he had four more faces developed for stealing glances at her. He then married Śatarūpā and, like an ordinary human being, enjoyed her in his lotus-abode for a hundred divine years.

It is true that. Kālidāsa does not mention the name of Śatarūpā in the verse of his *Meghadūta* noted above, but the facts stated below show definitely that he refers to the story of Śatarūpā in it.

We have already shown that the statements of Mallinātha regarding " आद्या सृष्टिः " have contradiction and that he overlooked the word " युवतिविषये " which must not have been used by the poet if he wanted to mean by आद्या सृष्टिः simply the first creation. The word "युवति", being derived from the root √यु (to unite),

12. *Matsya-purāṇa*, (ed. Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, Vaṅgābla 1316) 3.2—12, 30—45.

13. The commentator Pūrṇasarasvatī has given another interpretation of the word "आद्या सृष्टिः" (See, *Meghasandeśa*, ed. R. V. Krisnamachariar, Srirangam, 1926, p. 122). By the expression "आद्या सृष्टिः" he meant Devī Dākṣāyaṇī, the consort of the Lord Nīlalohita. But this explanation is not satisfactory, as the commentator completely overlooked the word "युवति विषय". Purāṇic records tell us that Devī Dākṣāyaṇī was the first female created in the world. But from the purāṇic stories we come to know that she took her birth, at first, as a child and then gradually she became a grown-up lady. Śatarūpā, on the other hand, was born as a young lady (and not as a child) and so she is described as the first young female created by Brahmā. The words "युवति विषये आद्यासृष्टिः" should, therefore, definitely refer to Śatarūpā instead of Dākṣāyaṇī.

means a female who is highly suitable for union. Śatarūpā was not only the first creation of Brahmā but also one possessed of youth most suitable for procreation. Again, as the Yakṣa is very fond of his wife, he regards her beauty to be the best in the world. It is, therefore, natural for him to compare her beauty with that of an exquisitely charming young damsel whose surpassing beauty perturbed even the creator Brahmā. Hence it may be stated definitely that in the line "या तत्र स्याद्युवतिविषये सृष्टिराद्येव धातुः". Kālidāsa compares the Yakṣa's wife with Śatarūpā.[14]

Mallinātha and other commentators opine that as in the verse mentioned above the poet tries to superimpose the character of a young maiden, the first creation of Brahmā in the domain of young female beauties, on the Yakṣa's wife, the figure-of-speech in the verse is उत्प्रेक्षा, the Yakṣa's wife and Brahmā's first female creation being the उपमेय and the उपमान respectively.

The word 'उत्प्रेक्षा' etymologically means 'a prominent apprehension of an उपमान'. An उत्प्रेक्षा, therefore, creates an occasion for doubt (संशय) in which the उपमान is apprehended more prominently than the उपमेय. Or, in other words, in उत्प्रेक्षा the mind leans more towards the उपमान than towards the उपमेय, and the उपमेय is imagined as being almost the same as (i.e., a little less than) the उपमान.

In उत्प्रेक्षा the following two conditions should generally be satisfied:—

(1) the उपमान should be such as has universal recognition;

(2) the उपमान should be superior in quality to or more prominent than the उपमेय.

Now, there are persons who opine that an artist can create an object of perfect art not in his first attempt but by repeated practice. For instance, in the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Mahā-śvetā, while describing the beauty of Puṇḍarīka's face, says:—

"मन्ये च सकलजगन्नयनानन्दकरं शशिबिम्बं विरचयता लक्ष्मीलीलावासभवनानि

14. For details about the story of Śatarūpā and its utilisation by Kālidāsa in his works see my article entitled "The stories of Śatarūpā and Sandhyā as known to and utilised by Kālidāsa" to be published in *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (Bombay).

कमलानि सृजता प्रजापतिना एतदाननाकारकरणकौशलाभ्यास एव कृतः, अन्यथा किमिव हि सदृशवस्तुविरचनायाः कारणम् !"

This extract, when translated literally, stands as follows:

"Methinks that when Brahmā made the moon's orb to gladden the world, and the lotuses to be Lakṣmī's palace of delight, he was but practising to gain skill for the creation of this ascetic's face; why else should such things be created?"[16]

Māhāśvetā wants to say that one can learn the technique of creating something specially beautiful by first creating several other beautiful objects of the same type.[17] In other words, the fact that the object of first creation is the most perfect is not necessarily always true. Thus, we see the first requirement of an उत्प्रेक्षा (i.e. universal recognition of the उपमान) is not fulfilled in the said verse as there exists an uncertainty about the perfection of the first creation of an artist.

Now, if the first creation is not always perfect in beauty, the first young female creation of Brahmā, which is an उपमान can never be superior to or more prominent than the उपमेय (i.e. the Yakṣa's wife) in charm. Hence the second requirement also is not satisfied. Thus, none of the two conditions of उत्प्रेक्षा hold good in the said verse and hence उत्प्रेक्षा loses its ground.

Again, the word 'स्यात्' in the noted verse is in विधिलिङ of the root √ अस् (meaning "to be") and expresses the idea whether the wife of the Yakṣa is alive or not. The Yakṣa, being very much in love with his wife, believes that the latter is also equally in love with him and is consequently afraid that the prolonged loneliness may affect her delicate body and she, being unable to bear the pain caused by the separation, may die before the

15. *Kādambarī, Pūrvabhāga,* (ed. K. P. Parab. ninth edition, Bombay, 1948), p. 303.

16. See Ridding, *The Kādambarī of Bāṇa* (London, 1896), p. 105.

17. See the commentary on *Kādambarī,* Pūrvabhāga, (ed. Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgiśa Bhaṭṭāchārya, Calcutta, Śakābda 1838), p. 542:—

"अन्योऽपि सुन्दरं वस्तुविशेषं प्रथमं तदाकारवस्त्वन्तरनिर्माणेन तन्नैपुण्यं शिक्षते"

arrival of the cloud in the city of Alakā. Thus, by the use of the word स्यात् the poet implies the Yakṣa's doubt about his wife's presence in life at her home. In the sentence तत्र या धातुः आद्या सृष्टिरिव स्यात्" the words आद्यासृष्टिरिव have the force of an adjective of the pronoun या (viz., the wife of the Yakṣa), which is the उपमेय. The word इव denotes similarity (तुल्यार्थ) between them. The Yakṣa says to the cloud that his wife, who is like the first young creation of Brahmā (i.e. Śatarūpa), may be found alive in her room. Here the उपमान and the उपमेय become equally prominent and are all alike to each other. Hence the figure-of-speech is उपमा.

In उत्प्रेक्षा, on the other hand, it is necessary to super-impose the character of Brahmā's first young female creation (i.e. of Śatarūpā) on the wife of the Yakṣa and for the viewing of her as Śatarūpā the word स्थिता has to be added to express the presence of the wife of the Yakṣa as Śatarūpā.

There are again some, who think that in the said verse of the *Meghadūta* the word स्यात् is superfluous as it carries no significance at all. But considering Kālidāsa's wonderful genius such an argument does not hold good. After minute scrutinisation of his works one must realise that Kālidāsa possessed complete control over language and not a single word of his Kāvyas is useless; every expression of his works, on the other hand, conveys deep meaning. The peculiarity of Kālidāsa is that he suggests much more than what he expresses.

The cloud, in the *Meghadūta*, is the symbol of the Yakṣa's mind. At the beginning of its journey towards the city of Alakā the Yakṣa says to it :—

"तां चावश्यं दिवसगणनातत्परामेकपत्नी-
मव्यापन्नामविहतगतिर्द्रक्ष्यसि भ्रातृजायाम् ।
आशाबन्धः कुसुमसदृशं प्रायशो ह्यङ्गनानां
सद्यःपाति प्रणयि हृदयं विप्रयोगे रुणद्धि ॥"[18]

"And you, with your course unimpeded, will also certainly find your brother's chaste wife alive, wholly engaged in counting the (remaining) days (of separation); for, the tie of hope generally

18. The verse is already mentioned.

sustains the heart of women, full of love, tender like a flower, and apt to give way at once."[19] By this verse the Yakṣa assures the cloud that his wife is not dead,[20] but, in spite of unbearable sufferings of separation, is somehow keeping herself alive. By the use of the word प्रायश: (often or generally) the Yakṣa forcibly removes from his mind the fear of his beloved's death. He was so desirous to meet his wife again that he gave no room for fear in his mind and consoled himself by remembering the instances of women who endured, with hope and patience, the severe pains of separation from their husbands, and did not give up their lives. But the fear of death, though removed, remains concealed in his subconscious mind and as the cloud draws nearer the city of Alakā, the hidden fear becomes apparent. To him, gradually, the chance of the death of his wife becomes greater than that of her living. Hope slowly vanishes, and suspicion grows stronger. At first the Yakṣa was sure (cf. अवश्यम्) that the cloud would see his wife alive; but later on doubt cast shadow over his mind and he suspected that his wife might die before the arrival of the cloud in Alakā.

In order to express such an idea of doubt about the existence of the Yakṣa's wife the word स्यात् was introduced in the noted verse.

We have already stated that the Yakṣa is a loving and passionate husband who is extremely fond of his wife. From the psychological point of view, therefore, it would be natural for him to regard the beauty of his wife to be exactly equal to that of Śatarūpā and not to be almost equal to it. In fact, the intensity of love of the Yakṣa towards his wife is emphasised by Kālidāsa in the verse noted above and this can only be explained if it is regarded as a case of उपमा and not one of उत्प्रेक्षा

In the verse of *Meghadūta* under discussion here Jinasena's Pārśvābhyudaya reads एव for इव in the expression आद्या सृष्टिरिव. But as the different commentators on the *Meghadūta* and also the learned editors of this work such as S. K. De, G. R. Nandargikar, K. B. Pathak, M. R. Kale, J. B. Choudhury and others accepted the reading इव and not एव our arguments, therefore, are based on the former reading इव which is more popular.

19. *Meghadūta*, (ed. M. R. Kale, sixth edition, Bombay), p. 20.

20. Note the word 'अव्यापन्नाम्' meaning 'अमृताम्' ('not dead').

ON THE TWO ṚGVEDIC COMPOUND-FORMS: RÁTHASPÁTI AND VANASPATI

By VASHISHTHA NARAYAN JHA*

0. *The Problem*

What are the component parts of these two compound-forms *ráthaspáti*–and *vánaspáti*–? Is the –*s*– element of the forms organic or inorganic? If organic, which of the components does it belong to, the first or the second? And if inorganic, wherefrom has it been taken and what for?

A fresh approach to these problems has been made in this paper.

0.0 *The Position*

Several solutions, hypothetical in character, have been proposed by scholars in order to solve the riddle, but none of them is felt to be convincing by the present writer. It is better to mention in this connection the views with regard to the meaning of this type of vedic compounds ending in *pati*–. All scholars except RENOU, are of the opinion that they are determinative (i.e., *tatpuruṣa*–) compounds with *pati*– 'lord' as the second nominal stem-component; but according to RENOU *pati* behaves more like a suffix as –*mat*/*vat* meaning 'possessed of' than a nominal stem meaning 'lord'. Though it is beyond the scope of this paper to examine RENOU's statement, still I side with the opinon that *ráthaspáti*– and *vánaspáti*– are determinative compounds. There is no dispute regarding the contextual meaning of these compounds; they always mean 'lord of chariot' and 'lord of woods' respectively.

1.0. *ráthaspáti*–

Let us, first of all, look into our traditional observations on this point.

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1. "Observations sur les composés nominaux du Ṛgveda." *Language* (Lg) 29. p. 232.

1.1. *The Padapāṭhakāra's treatment*

The type of the *Ṛgvedic* compound-forms with *pati–* as the second member has been dealt with by the *padapāṭhakāra* in four different ways :

(a) Some of them have been left unanalysed, in contrast with his usual method of handling the compound-form, e.g., *b'ṛhaspátiḥ/b'ṛhaspátiḥ/*[2]; *vánaspátiḥ/v'anaspátiḥ/*[3]; *viśpátiḥ/viśpátiḥ/*[4] etc.,

(b) A few of them have been separated by the *avagraha*-sign, e.g., *śácipatiḥ/śácī pátiḥ/*[5]; *svárpatiḥ/sváḥ* s *patiḥ/*[6]; *haviṣpatiḥ/ havíḥ s patiḥ/*[7]; *púrpatim/púḥ* s *patim/*[8] etc.,

(c) Some have been kept without avagraha, e.g., *ráthaspátiḥ/ rathaḥ patiḥ/*[9];
jāspátiḥ/ jāḥ pátiḥ/[10]; *gnāspatiḥ/*
gnāḥ patiḥ/[11] *ṛtaspate/ ṛtaḥ pate/*[12], etc., and

(*d*) A few have been analysed as two separate forms, as if they were not compounds, e.g., *brahmaṇaspatiḥ/ brahmaṇaḥ/ patiḥ/*[13]; *śúbhaspatī/ śúbhaḥ/ patī iti/*[14] etc.

The principles (if any) behind these four types of treatment are still to be investigated. But throughout my investigation it is found that the *padapāṭhakāra* keeps quiet when he is not certain

2. *RV* 1.62.3.
3. *RV* 1.90.8.
4. *RV* 1.26.7.
5. *RV* 4.30.17.
6. *RV* 8.44.18.
7. *RV* 1.12.8.
7. 8. *RV* 1.173.10.
9. *RV* 5.50.50.
10. *RV* 7.38.6.
11. *RV* 2.38.10.
12. *RV* 8.26.21.
13. *RV* 1.18.4.
14. *RV* 1.3.1.

about the etymology of a word and this fact has been noticed by the *śuklayajuḥ-Prātiśākhyam,* 5.38-9[15].

Now, in the case of *ráthaspáti–*, we do not find any *avagraha*-mark. On the contrary the *–s–* element becomes *ḥ*. Similarly, in *svárpatiḥ* and *haviṣpatiḥ*, *–r–* and *–ṣ–* are changed to *ḥ*- before *pati–*. Thus, it is clear that in explaining the pause preceded by *a/i* and followed by *p–*, *–r–* and *–s–/–ṣ–* are treated alike.

1.2. *Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya*

The general rule found in this *prātiśākhya* regarding the change of *visarjanīya* preceded by *a* and followed by *pati–* is / *antaḥpādam vigrahe' kārapūrvaḥ* (*visarjanīyaḥ*), *pati-śabde dvyakṣare puṃspravāde*/[16]. *Sakāram* (*āpadyate*) is to be supplied from the preceeding verse. According to this rule, the first component of the compound ending in *pati–* should be inflected in order to get the euphonic treatment prescribed for. On this ground one may be inclined to take *ráthas* of *ráthaspáti–* as inflected component. But it is not true because a separate list of eight words,– one of which is *rathas–*, is mentioned in the thirteenth *paṭala* to receive a separate prescription according to which the *–s–* of *rathaspati–* is obtained by the general *samāpādya–* or *upācarita–* *sandhi*-rule,[17] and not by the special rule for *pati–* compound as mentioned above.

1.3. *Pāṇini's view*

Vide Pā. 6.1.157,[18] the form *vánaspati–* may be assumed in the *ākṛtigaṇa*. To this *sūtra* the Vārtikakāra further adds; / *tadbṛhatoḥ karapatvoścoradevatavoḥ suṭ talopaśca*/ where he takes into account only *taskara*–and *bṛhaspáti–*; *ráthaspáti* — remains unexplained.

1.4. *Commentators' remark*

All the commentators, Skandasvāmin, Venkaṭamādhava, Mudgala, Sāyaṇa, etc., are of the same opinion regarding the meaning

15. *Uttambhanādīnyādisaṃsayāt*/38/; *viśanjāityānyāyasamasāt*/39/.

16. *Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhyam* (M. D. SHASTRI edn.). 4.41.

17. *Op. cit.*, 13.30; *samāpādyānyuttare ṣaṭ pakāre, rādho ratho gnā divo jā ṛtasca/añjaḥpā duḥpreti ca pūrvapadyaur......*/

18. *Pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca saṃjñāyām*.

of the compounds *ráthaspáti–* and *vánaspáti–*. About their formation they are silent.

1.5. *Modern Scholars' answer*

Before examining their answers it is felt necessary to draw up a list of possible explanations of the compound-forms under discussion, irrespective of any particular opinion.

1.5.1. If *ráthaspáti–*be segmented as *ráthas* + *páti–* the following possibilities, in order to explain the first component, peep in:

Possibility no. I. *ráth–* (radical stem) + *–as* (6/1 ending) + *páti–*,

" " II *rátha–* (*a-stem*) + *–s* (1/1 ending) + *páti–*,

" " III. *rátha–* (*a*-stem) + –s (6/1 ending < IF reduced grade of 6/1 ending *–es*/ *os*/ *–syo*) + *páti–*,

" " IV *ráthas–* (with *–s–* on the analogy of 6/1 form in *–as* from a consonantal base) + *páti*

" " V. *ráthar–* (stem with thematic extension in *–ar*/**as*) +*páti–*

1.5.2. If the compound is divided as *rátha* + *spáti–*, the first component needs no explanation but the second does. Thus, one more possibility must be taken into account, viz.,

Possibility no. VI. *rátha–* (stem) + *spáti* (*√*spā*> √*pā* '*to protect*').

2.0. Possibility nos. I–IV and VI are proposed by different scholars, and possibility no. V, not thought of so far, is the theme of this paper. Let the possibilities proposed by the modern scholars be examined one by one.

2.1. *Possibility no. I*

C. R. SANKARAN,[19] once tried to postulate a hypothetical root **rath–*, keeping in mind the root *van*,[20] to derive a hypothe-

19. "The double accented Vedic compounds" *Journal of the Madras University* 1936, Vol. VIII. 1, p. 62.

20. See under 3.1.

tical base *rath– which can easily give a form like rathas in the genitive singular. But lacking any trace of such a root or stem, he himself rejected the possibility. No other scholar has thought of this possibility. Finding no evidence, I also cannot support his view.

2.2. *Possibility no. II.*

Being influenced by the analysis given by the *Padapāṭhakāra*, i.e.,/ *rathaḥ patiḥ*/ only WACKERNAGEL[21] followed by MACDONELL[22] commented on this possibility which is quite obvious. But later on seeing that the meaning would not fit in with the context, he changed his opinion. Practically, he commented on the *padakāra's* treatment that by changing *–s–* into *–ḥ–* and putting no *avagraha* the *padapāṭhakāra* might have confused *rathas* with the nominative singular of *ratha–*. Naturally this possibility also does not stand for lack of semantic support.

2.3. *Possibility no. III*

MONIER–WILLIAMS[23], BURROW[24], PEDERSEN[25], SANKARAN[26], and MISHRA[27] are in favour of this possibility. Among them, M.–WILLIAMS has simply made a conjecture without giving any ground. The same is the case with SANKARAN who has nothing to say except calling the *–s–* element a 6/1 termination in the reduced grade of the IE *–es/ –os*. BURROW followed by MISHRA, and PEDERSEN on the basis of the 6/1 – form[28] of the Hittile (Hitt.) language, urge that a trace of the zero–grade of IE *–es/ –os* can be found in OIA *vánaspáti–* and *ráthaspáti–*. I take objection to this view for the following reasons :

21. *AIG*, II.1. § 97 a. note, p. 241.

22. *Vedic Grammar*, § 280, p. 169.

23. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 866. Col. I.

24. *The Sanskrit Language*, p. 255.

25. *Hittitische und die anderen indoeuropäischen sprachen*, § 19, p. 29.

26. *Op. cit.*, pp. 62-3.

27. *A Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit Greek and Hittite*, § 100 (a) and (b), p. 54.

28. Which, according to them, ends in *-s*, e.g., Hitt. *arunas* IE *ornos*, cf. skt. *aruṇaḥ*.

2.3.1 The IE *–es/ –os/ –s* ending are meant for consonantal stems and IE *–s ending* for *i* and *u* stems sometimes, but never for *o*–stem (skt. *a*– stem)[29]. In support of this, I furnish a list of the 6/1 ending with *o*– stems in the majority of the branches of the IE family of languages. Thus, P–IE *–osjo/ –oso* (e.g., W19*w osjo*) :09A *–asya* (e.g., *vrkasya*) : GK *–olo* (e.g., *lukoio*) : Italic *–ī* (e.g., *lupī* = 'of wolf') ; Armanian – *oy;* Germanic *–is –es/ –s* (e.g., 'of day/ day's' = Goth. *dagis,* ON *dags,* OE *daeges,* OS *dages,* OHG *tages*) and Balto–slavic *–a* 5/1 ending (e.g.,*boga* 'of God').

So, only in the Germanic branch the 6/1 ending is found as *–es/ –is/ –s.* But according to GUSTAV MUST[30] these endings cannot be derived from the IE *–eso/ –oso,* but only from IE *–esjo,* because *–s–* preceded by a vowel and followed by *j* could remain voiceless more easily than intervocalic *s.* Other branches do not show this *–s* as the 6/1 termination with *o*– stem.

2.3.2. The orthography of Hitt. is problematic. It is very doubtful whether its 6/1 *–s* represents IE *–s* or *–so.*

2.3.2. If at all in Hitt. the 6/1 ending is represented by *–s,* it is explained as an extention of the 1/1 ending, because in Hitt. the 1/1 form of IE *o*– stem ends in *–s.*[31] This is, not necessarily, true for OIA because we have no such inner support.

2.4. *Possibility no. IV*

Most of the scholars, like WACKERNAGEL[32] GARBE[33], MACDONELL[34], BRUGMANN[35], BÖHTLINGK-ROTH,[36], GRASSEMANN[37], BARTHOLOMAE[38], and RIĆHTER[39] side with the

29. See BUCK, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin,* § 229. p. 172; also WRIGHT. *Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language,* § 359. p. 202.

30. "The genitive singular of *o*- stem in Germanic." *Lg* 29. pp. 301–5.

31. BURROW. *op. cit.,* p. 255; also MISHRA. *op. cit.,* § 100.

32. *Op. cit.,* II. 1. § 99b. pp. 246-7.

33. *KZ* 23. p. 490 and also SANKARAN. *op. cit.,* p. 62.

34. *Op. cit.,* p. 96. fn. 6.

35. *Comp. Gr.,* Vol. II. ii. p. 381.

36. *PW* VI. 258.

37. *Wb.* 1139.

38. *BB.* 15. p. 15. fn. I.

39. *IF* 19, p. 17.

view that *ráthaspáti–* is formed after the analogy of *bṛhaspáti–*. But before arriving at this conclusion, one should utilize all the related references, found in the *RV*, which may yield some regular explanation. Possibility no. V is a result of such an attempt.

2.5. *Possibility no. VI*

BLOOMFIELD[40] hesitatingly suggests this possibility of explaining the form as *rátha spati–* claiming that *–spati–* is 'a more ancient form derived from √*spá* besides √*pā*, like *√*skṛ* besides √kr'. *√*skṛ* is attested in form like *pratiskṛ–*, *pāraskara* etc. About the double accent on the form, he says, it may be due to an attempt by the compilers of the *RV* to explain this *–s–*. This explanation seems to me far–fetched because it can be better explained, if we assume possibility no V.

2.6. *Possibility no. V* : *ráthar + páti–=páthaspáti–*

The following are the reasons to assume this possibility:

2.6.1. *The stem*

In the *RV* we come across a stem *rathar–* found with the denominative forms *rathar-ya-ti, rather-ya-taḥ,* and *rathar-yá-si.*[41] There are several other stems in *–ar|as* such as *udhar–/–as–* 'udder, *vadhar–, śrathar–, sapar–* etc.[42] So, there is no difficulty in assuming a stem *rathar–*.

2.6.2 *–a+r+p=–a+s+p–*

Now the question is, how we can justify that *–r–* preceded by *a–* and followed by *–p* changes into *–s–*. We have already observed[43] from the *padapāṭha* system that *–r–* and *–s–*, in the above mentioned environment, are, almost always, treated alike. Thus, *–a+r+p–*= (1) *–a+r+p–*, (2) *a+s+p–* and (3) *–a+ḥ+p*. Examples for (1) are *ahar-pati–, svár-pati–, púrpati–* etc., for (2) *ántaspathās*[44] etc. and for (3) *antaḥpéyam,*[45] *púnaḥ,*[46] etc.

40. *PAOS* (in *JAOS* 1). § 6. p. V.

41. BURROW. *op. cit.*, p. 361; WHITNEY. *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1066. p. 390; MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, § 567 d. p. 401.

42. GRASSMANN. *Wb.* 1693-4; BURROW. *op. cit.*, pp. 126-7. and 157.

43. See § 1.1. of this paper.

44. *RV* 5.52.10.

45. *Op. cit.*, 10.107.9.

46. *Op. cit.*, 1.92.10.

In another environments also there is a tendency of changing −*r*− to −*s*− e.g., *ī*+*r*+*p*+−=*ī* *s*+*p*−, e.g., *gīspati*<*gīr*+*pati*−,[47] etc. and *u*+*r*+*p*=*u*+*s*+*p*, e.g. *cátuṣpadaḥ*<*catur*+*padaḥ*.[48]

2.6.3 *Accent*

The third point regarding the supra-segmental phoneme of the forms under discussion, demands explanation. Generally, those compound-forms having the first members inflected and second member *pati*−, can have double accent.[49] But examples of double-accented compound-forms having uninflected first component and *pati*− as the second member are not rare. Moreover, compounds without *pati*−as their second member are found with double accent, and sometimes even with single accent. The following table of accent-contrast will make the point clear:

Double accent	Inflected first component+*pati*−: *b'ṛhaspáti*−, *bráhmaṇaspáti*−etc.
Contrast	(a) Uninflected first component+*pati*- *śácīpátiḥ* etc. (b) First member uninflected+non-*pati*- *tánū-napát*,[50] *nárā-śáṃsa*−,[51] *ńṛ-śáṃsa*[52], *nābhā-nédiṣtha*−,[53] etc. (c) First component inflected+non-*pati*- *śúnaḥ-śépa*−[54] etc.

In the latter Saṃhitā even such compounds with inflected first member and *pati*− as the second member bear single accent, e.g., *aṁhasaspatí*. We do not find any strictly consistent system of accentnation in OIA; and so, the accent on uninflected first com-

47. *Kāśikā* on Pā. 8.2.70.
48. *RV* 6.71.2.
49. MACDONELL. *op. cit.*, p. 96.
50. *RV* 3.29.11; 9.52.
51. *Op. cit.*, 1.142.3.
52. *Op. cit.*, 9.81.5.
53. *Op. cit.*, 10.61.18.
54. *Op cit.*, 5.2.7.

ponent *ráthas* does not stand on the way of our explanation of *ráthaspáti–*. Thus I propose possibility no. V.

3.0. *Vánaspáti–*

All the possibilities discussed in connection with *ráthaspáti–* may be stated in the case of *vánaspáti–* also. Among these, possibility no. I and V offer scope for discussion, and the rest may be avoided on the grounds maintained for *ráthaspáti–*.[55]

3.1. *Possibility no. I*: *ván* (radical stem) + *–as* (6/1 termination) + *pati–*

A stem *ván–* 'wood/tree' is attested thrice in the *RV*, once as *vanám* 'of woods' and twice as *váṃsu* 'in the wood/on trees'.[56] From this radical stem *van–* one can easily derive *vanas* in 6/1.[57] But one objection can be raised namely, regarding the accent. *Van–* being a monosyllabic base, should have been accented on the suffix and not on the stem according to the rule /*sāvekācastṛtīyādir vibhaktiḥ* /[58] But *vánas–* in *vánaspáti–* shows the accent on the stem. So far *vanam* is concerned, it is accented according to the accent-rule; while the accent in *váṃsu* goes against the rule since it is on the stem. Of course, we have many examples for accent on the monosyllabic stem, e.g., *nṛ'-su, g'o-su* etc.[59] Thus this possibility in the case of *vánaspáti–* may stand. Still I suggest one more possible explanation and thus refer to possibility no. V.

3.2. *Possibility no. V*: *vánar+páti–=vánaspáti–*

In the *RV*, we have forms like *vanar-gu'–*[60] and *vanar-sad–*,[61] which give us a stem *vanar–*. This stem can also be attested in the secondary derivative stem *vānara–*.[62]

55. MISHRA. *op. cit.*, § 100 is in favour of possibility no. III; MACDONELL. *op. cit.*, p. 168. BARTHOLOMAE. *op. cit.*, ibid. and WACKERNAGEL. *op. cit.*, *ibid.* are in favour of possibility no. IV.

56. S. S. BHAWE. *The Soma Hymns of the Ṛgveda*. pp. 17-8.

57. LAMMAN. *Noun-inflection in the Veda*, p. 420.

58. Pā. 6.1.168.

59. LANMAN. *op. cit.*, p. 421.

60. MEHENDALE. "vanargú", *Velankar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 76–81.

61. *RV* 2.31.1.

62. BURROW. *op. cit.*, p. 127. Moreover, we also get a stem *vanas*-found as *vanasā* (RV 10.172.1) 'with beauty/pleasure' where meaning differs from our context.

The other processes of getting *–s–* out of *–ṙ–* preceded by *a–* and followed by *p-* and having the accent on the first uninflected member of the compound may be maintained same as those in the case of *ráthaspáti–*.

4.0. Thus we may arrive at the following conclusions:

(a) *ráthaspáti–* and *vánaspáti–* are regular genitive determinative (i.e., *ṣaṣthī-tatpuruṣa*) compound forms,

(b) they should be segmented after *rathas–* and *vanas–* and not after *ratha–* and *vana* as suggested by BLOOMFIELD,

(c) the *–s–* element is organic, and can be taken as a euphonic treatment of *r* preceeded by *a/i/u* and followed by *p/k* or as a mere vaviant of *r*, as attested in *ūdhar/as-* '*udder*' GK. hudōr,[63]

(d) the accent on the first uninflected components *ráthas* and *vánas* has support in the *RV*.*

63. Latin also shows a few traces of this *r* and *s* variation, e.g., *honor: honos* 'honour', *robur: robus* 'of things made of oak' etc.

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IDENTIFICATION OF TWO CITATIONS IN UDBHAṬA'S *BHĀMAHA-VIVARAṆA FRAGMENTS*

By BISWANATH BHATTACHARYA*

In the 22nd Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Gauhati in 1965 an endeavour had been made by the present writer to trace the source of the torso of a quotation in Udbhaṭa's *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa Fragments* to Magha's *Śiśupāla-vadha*.[1] Here also an humble attempt is being made to identify the *akṣara*-remnants of two more citations in the *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa Fragments* in the context of Bhāmaha's *śliṣṭa*.

The relevant passage comprising the syllabic remains in question may now be placed below :

Udbhaṭa's *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*, frg. no. 39b, p. 38 :

1.6 : ..... yatra tu śabdānām atyanta-sarūpāṇām api danty auṣṭhya-laghu-pra[(sic.; should we read dantauṣṭhya-laghu-prayatnataragato bhedaḥ in accordance with the frg. no. 39a, 1.3, p. 37 ?)

1.7 :] (arth ?) āntara-pratibhā / tayālaṅkārāntare vākyāntare vā pratibhotpadyate x [

1.8 :] *genoddīpayantī smara* (sic.; should be corrected to Smaram) / *kāñcī-dāma nitamba-saṅgi dadhatī* sy. [(sic.; should we read vyālambinā vāsasā in consonance with the frg. no. 39a, 1.1, p. 37 ?)

Frg. no. 39a, p. 37 :

1.1 :]. īyā (Should we read yadā mūrtī Rati-pakṣīyā ?) tadā oṣṭhyo bakāro (vakāro———sic.!) [;] tadā tu *vyālaṁ*

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1. Cf. "Identification of a Quotation in the Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa Fragments" in the Summaries of Papers ed. Maheswar Neog, Gauhati, 1965, pp. 23-24 and the Proceedings and Transactions, etc., Vol. 2 (Select Papers) ed. Maheswar Neog, Gauhati, 1966, pp. 65—67.

sarpaṁ vinā vā sametya .y. [(Should we read vāsasety anvayaḥ ?)

1.2 :] *Śatrughnas* (śa°——sic.) *tvaṁ kṣitau Janaka-sthitiḥ* (ja°—°teḥ——sic.) [/] *iti sucaritais sūkti-vibhrā*.y. [(sic.; should we read °ritais sūktiṁ (=khyātim iti yāvat) bibhrac ?]

1.3 :] di-śabda-dvaya-vivakṣāyāṁ laghu-prayatnataro (') laṅkāraḥ nasyalo [

In the afore-cited passage the textual matter of the 'b' side or the reverse side of the printed fragment (p. 38) appears to have been continued over to the 'a' side or the obverse side of the same fragment (pp. 37-38). This evident continuity of the textual matter necessitates a proper re-arrangement of the recto and verso in Gnoli's edition, and as such these sides have been re-adjusted in the excerpt.

A. *Identification of the first verse*

Now, the frg. no. 39b, 1.8 appears to record the surviving syllables of a benedictory (*āśīr-vādātmaka*) verse in the 19-syllable Śārdūla-vikrīḍita metre which is found to have been cited in full as an illustration of *śleṣa* in Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jīvita* as follows :

mālāṁ utpala-kandalaiḥ pratikacaṁ sv-āyojitāṁ bibhratī (vi°——sic.)

netreṇā (') sama-dṛṣṭ-pāta-*subhagenoddīpayantī Smaram* /
kāñcī-dāma nibaddha-bhaṅgi (°-dāma-ni°——sic.) *dadhatī vyālaṁbinā* (vyālambinā——sic.) *vāsasā*

mūrtiḥ Kāma-ripoḥ sitāmbara-dharā pāyāc ca Kāma-striyāḥ (°-striyaḥ——sic. !)[2] //

From a comparison of the verse-remains in Udbhaṭa with the full verse in Kuntaka it would appear that the frg. no. 39b, 1.8 preserves the latter portion (to be precise, the last 8 syllables) of 'b' and the major portion (to be accurate, the first 12 syllables) of 'c'. It is quite palpable that the last disyllabic word of 'b', viz., smara

2. S. K. De's 3rd revised edition, Calcutta, 1961, Ch. 3 (Résumé), p. 206; Grantha-mālā, no. 5, Delhi—6, 1955, Ch. 3, p. 452.
Hindī edition with Viśveśvara's *Vakrokti-dīpikā*, Hindī Anusandhāna Pariṣad

in the printed text of Udbhaṭa is a scribal error for Smaram as in the complete verse in Kuntaka. Again, the last seven syllables of 'c' in Udbhaṭa can be restored with the help of his explanation as found in the frg. no. 39a, 1.1.[3] This restoration along with the necessary emendations proposed above can be confirmed safely with the aid of Kuntaka's text. Further, the compound nitamba-saṅgi in 'c' in Udbhaṭa's text fits in well with the compound *kāñcī-dāma* (also in 'c') and is thus a better reading than *nibaddha-bhaṅgi* in Kuntaka's quotation. It is regrettable that the first 11 syllables of 'b' and the whole of 'a' and 'd' of the verse under consideration have not been preserved in the printed fragment of Udbhaṭa.

Anyway, one point is certain that both Udbhaṭa and Kuntaka deal with the same verse in connection with *śleṣa*. Neither the name of the author of this verse nor the title of the work concerned has been recorded in Udbhaṭa and Kuntaka. This verse is not found also in Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sāra-saṅgraha*. It does not occur in the commentaries of Pratīhārendurāja and Rājānaka Tilaka as well. Further, we are not given to attribute the authorship of this verse to Udbhaṭa himself. Besides, it is not possible to say whether Kuntaka quoted the verse from Udbhaṭa or from some original source hitherto untraced.

However, the above verse occurs in Udbhaṭa in course of a discussion following a citation from *Bhāmaha's* 3/20[a,b] ["ratnavattvād agādhatvāt sva-maryādā (') vilaṅghanā/" (=an illustration of *hetu-nirdeśa-yukta śliṣṭa*)=Udbhaṭa's *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*, frg. no. 39b, 1.4, p. 38]. A study of the verse under consideration ["mālām utpala-kandalaiḥ.........."] would reveal the fact that it is a case of *sahokti-yukta śliṣṭa* like Bhāmaha's 3/18 [chāyāvanto gata-vyālāḥ sv-ārohāḥ phaladāyinaḥ/mārga-drumā mahāntaś ca pareṣām eva bhūtaye //"]. Here the *aṅgabhūta viśeṣaṇas* (like mālā-dhārakatva) are mentioned once (sakṛd-upātta) while the two *aṅgibhūta viśeṣyas*, viz., (i) Kāma-ripu (i.e., Śiva) and (ii) Kāma-strī (i.e., Rati), are mentioned separately (pṛthag-upātta). In other words, the *viśeṣaṇas* are *śliṣṭa* through tantra-prayoga while the two *viśeṣyas* are kept apart and joined through a *ca-kāra* (=sahokta=yugapad-ullikhita). The

3. It is not correct to state that this interpretation is a part of the commentary on Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, 3/18 ["chāyāvanto gata-vyālāḥ......" (to be cited in full a little later)] only because the word *vyālān* occurs here.

economy of expression in the cases of the common (upamānopameyobhayānuyāyin) *viśeṣaṇas* results in the *dharmā' bheda* (sādhāraṇa-viśeṣaṇa-mahimnā tantra-prayoge sati dharma-sāmyād dharmā'bhedaḥ sidhyati) between the upameya, Kāma-ripu, and the upamāna, Kāma-strī, and this *dharmā-'bheda* paves the path for an indirect Kāma-strī, and this (dharmā'bhedād dharmy-abhedo'pi sādhyate). Again, excepting the expressions "vyālaṁbinā" in 'c' and "ambara" [in the compound "sitāmbara-dharā"] in 'd' all the *śabdas* (e.g., mālām, utpala-kandalaiḥ, etc.) in the whole verse can be substituted by their synonyms. Thus, the paryāya-parivṛtty-asahatva in "vyālaṁbinā" and "ambara" ensures *śabda-śliṣṭa* while the paryāya-parivṛtti-sahatva in the remaining words proves *artha-śliṣṭa*. In *śabda-śliṣṭa* there is guṇa-kriyā-śabda-gata śliṣṭatva while in artha-śliṣṭa there is guṇa-kriyā-gata śliṣṭatva. Further, in the *śabda-śliṣṭa-bhāga* "vyālaṁbinā" has to be looked upon as *sabhaṅga* and "ambara" as *abhaṅga*. Thus, in the case of the upameya, Kāma-ripu, "vyālaṁbina" has to be split up as "vyālaṁ vinā" (with the dento-labial va-kāra) and the intended syntactical construction (vivakṣita anvaya) should be "vāsasā (=vastreṇa) vinā (=antareṇa) ——Tryambaka-tanor dig-ambaratvād———vyālam (=sarpam) (eva) (nitamba-saṅgi) kāñcī-dāma (iti niraṅga-kevalaṁ vyasta-rūpakam) dadhatī (=dhārayantī)." Again, in the case of the upamāna, Kāma-strī, "vyālaṁbinā" (with the bi-labial ba-kāra) remains intact and the necessary anvaya should be "vyālaṁbinā (=kaṭi-taṭā"śrayiṇā) vāsasā (=vastreṇa) saha (nitamba-saṅgi) kāñcī-dāma dadhatī, yad vā tathā-vidhena vāsasā upalakṣitā mūrtir ity arthaḥ". In brief, in the Śiva-pakṣa "vyālaṁbinā" should be split up as "vyālaṁ vinā (with va-kāra)" while in the Rati-pakṣa "vyālaṁbinā" (with ba-kāra) remains intact. So we have here *sabhaṅga-śabda śliṣṭa* because of bhinna-varṇānupūrvīkatva. The difference between va-kāra and ba-kāra is minor and does not stand on the way of the intended *śliṣṭa* because this type of literary twist is sanctified by the profuse usage in the ornate kāvya literature and the *a posteriori* ālaṅkārika dictum "yamakādau bhaved aikyaṁ ḍa-lor ba-vor la-ros tathā /". On the contrary, the "ambara—"śabda in 'd' is a clear case of *abhaṅga-śabda śliṣṭa* because it is abhinna-varṇānupūrvīka. In the Śiva-pakṣa it means "ākāśa" and in the Rati-pakṣa, "vastra".

Therefore, the whole verse gives us an illustration of Bhāmaha's sahokti-yukta śliṣṭa between the prākaraṇika Śiva-pakṣa and the aprākaraṇika Rati-pakṣa, and here we find *sabhaṅga-śabda-śliṣṭa*, *abhaṅga-śabda-śliṣṭa* and *artha-śliṣṭa*. This *śliṣṭa* gives rise to the

solitary (niraṅga-kevala) vyasta-rūpaka in "vyālam (eva) (nitamba-saṅgi) kāñcī-dāma (dadhatī)" in the Śiva-pakṣa, and as such *śliṣṭa* is here rūpaka-sādhaka and predominant (prādhānyānurodhena ca vyapadeśārham) while rūpaka is śliṣṭa--sādhya and insignificant (pra-roha-hīnam). In other words, *śliṣṭa* is here rūpaka-pratibhotpatti-hetu.

This judgment is from the standpoint of Bhāmaha. Bhaṭṭi, as explained by Jayamaṅgala, appears to look upon this variety of *śliṣṭa* from the same angle. Vāmana also clearly follows Bhāmaha. Daṇḍin is aware of this type of *śleṣa*. Udbhaṭa and Kuntaka too appear to follow Bhāmaha. Bhoja also accepts such a variety of *śleṣa*.

But from the perspective of the later ālaṅkārikas the verse under consideration has to be looked upon as an instance of *saṅkara* in which tulya-yogitā is the aṅgibhūta alaṅkāra (because both Kāma-ripu and Kāma-strī are pṛthag-upātta prakṛtas and the aupamya is gamya) while *sabhaṅga-śabda-śliṣṭa abhaṅga-śabda-śliṣṭa, artha-śliṣṭa* and *sabhaṅga-śabda-śliṣṭa-samutthāpita* niraṅga-kevala vyasta-rūpaka are the aṅgas of tulya-yogitā. There is bādhya-bādhaka-bhāva be-tween this tulya-yogitā on the one hand and the constituent alaṅkāras on the other.

However, *sabhaṅga-śabda-śliṣṭa, abhaṅga-śabda-sliṣṭa* and *artha-śliṣṭa* in the above verse come under the category of the arthālaṅkāras from the viewpoint of Bhāmaha, Bhaṭṭi (as explained by Jayamaṅ-gala), Daṇḍin and Vāmana. On the contrary, both *sabhaṅga-śabda-sliṣṭa* and *abhaṅga-śabda-śliṣṭa* have been treated by Rājānaka Tilaka, Mammaṭa and their followers as two varieties of the same śabdālaṅ-kāra called *śabda-śleṣa*, and *artha-śliṣṭa* has been viewed by them as an arthālaṅkāra termed artha-śleṣa. The Tilaka-Mammaṭa school applies the anvaya-vyatireka criterion to determine the śabda-gata-tva and artha-gatatva of śleṣa. But Udbhaṭa and Ruyyaka regard *sabhaṅga-śabda-śliṣṭa* as śabda-śleṣa, a śabdālaṅkāra, in the jatu-kāṣṭha-nyāya and *abhaṅga-śabda-śliṣṭa* as artha-śleṣa, an arthālaṅkāra, in the eka-vṛnta-gata-phala-dvaya-nyāya. Ruyyaka follows the āśrayā-śrayi-bhāva criterion in his judgment. Bhoja also treats śleṣa as an ubhayālaṅkāra. Does Kuntaka follow Udbhaṭa in this matter?

Here we might leave the treatment of the first verse and switch on to that of the second one.

B. Identification of the second verse

The syllabic remains of the second verse can be found in Udbhaṭa's *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*, frg. no. 39a, 1.2 (quoted above). These verse-remains (to be precise, the last 11 syllables of 'b' and the first 10 syllables of 'c') tally admirably with the corresponding portions of 'b' and 'c' of the verse no. 38 entered in the Rāja-cāṭu-paddhati (=Paddhati no. 44) of the Artha-parvan (=Parvan no. 2) in Sāyaṇa's *Subhāṣita-sudhā-nidhi.* The whole verse in the 17—syllable Hariṇī metre may now be cited underneath for a profitable textual comparison and discussion thereon :—

> *Pṛthur* asi guṇaiḥ, kīrtyā Rāmo, Nalo harato bhavān,
> mahati samare *Śatrughnas tvaṁ, kṣitau Janaka—sthitiḥ* /
> *iti sucaritair bibhrat sāmyaṁ cirantana-bhūbhṛtāṁ,*
> *katham asi* na Māndhāteva tvaṁ tri-loka-vijayy api //

The same verse occurs also with some minor variants in 'b' and 'c' as an illustration (serial no. 170) of ullekha characterised by śleṣa-mūlā bhede 'py abheda-rūpā atiśayokti in Śobhākaramitra's Alaṅkāra-ratnākara and as verse no. 2502 in the Paddhati no. 86 (=Rāja Vviṣaye cāṭavaḥ) in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali.

Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinava-Bhāratī* on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra,* 16/9 quotes this verse with slight variations in 'b' and 'c' as an instance of the lakṣaṇa termed *guṇa-kīrtana* which also shelters śleṣa.

Narendraprabha-sūri in the svopajña-vṛtti on his *Alaṅkāra-mahodadhi,* 2 (= Taraṅga no.) /21—23 (= Śloka nos.) and 2/28 cites this verse as an illustration (serial no. 66) of the fourth variety of the śabda-śakti-mūlā prayojana-mūlā upādāna-nāmnī (=ajahat-svārthā) lakṣaṇā [or upacāra-vyāpāra] of the arthāntara-saṅkramita-vācyā type based on kriyā-yoga (= kriyā-sāmya-sambandha) between the vācyārtha (rūḍhya-artha) and the lakṣyārtha (yaugikārtha). This arthāntara-saṅkramaṇa in kriyā-sāmya (= sadṛśa-vyāpāra-sambandha) ensures kriyā'bheda betewen the upameya and the upamāna.

Again, this very verse with another set of variants in 'b' and 'c' has also been entered as verse no. 37 (= serial no. 1417) in the Cāṭu-vrajyā (= Vrajyā no. 41) in Vidyākara's *Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa,* and as verse no. 1 (= serial no. 1436) in the Kārya-garva sub-section

(= sub-section no. 14) under the Cāṭu-pravāha-vīci (= Pravāha-vīci no. 3) in Śrīdharadāsa's *Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛta*).[4]

King Gopendra Tripurahara in his Kāma-dhenu on Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti, 4/3/8 quotes the first 10 syllables of 'b' ["mahati samare Śatrughnas tvam"] as an illustration of the fifth variety of lakṣaṇā based on kriyā-yoga.

Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita,* Ch. 3 shows a similar setting in "Śatrughnaḥ samare.......Puṣpabhūtiḥ".

There is also a verse of similar content ["yo vairiṣv analo Nalo . . . . ."] in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali, 86/2610 which is said to have been quoted from Śambhu's Rājendra-karṇa-pūra (no. 51).

Anyway, we may now refer back to the verse in question [Pṛthur asi......"] and state that Sāyaṇa, Śobhākaramitra, Vallabhadeva, Abhinavagupta, Narendraprabha-sūri and Vidyākara do not mention the name of the author. It is only Śrīdharadāsa who ascribes the

4. (a) guṇaiḥ kīrtyā [in Sāyaṇa. Śobhākaramitra. Vallabhadeva. Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa]; guṇair mūrtyā [in Abhinavagupta and Narendraprabha-sūri]; Nalo harato [in Sāyaṇa only]; Nalo Bharato [in Śobhākaramitra. Vallabhadeva. Abhinavagupta. Narendraprabha-sūri. Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa];

(b) mahati samare [in all the textual traditions excepting the printed text of Śobhākaramitra]; kṣitau Janaka-sthitiḥ [in Udbhaṭa (as per the proposed reading) and Sāyaṇa]; kṣitau Janaka-sthiteḥ [as per the MS. reading in Udbhaṭa and Sobhakaramitra ; kṣitau Janakaḥ sthitaḥ [in Vallabhadeva only]; tathā Janakaḥ sthitau [in Abhinavagupta only]; tathā Janakaḥ sthiteḥ (v. l. Janaka-sthiteḥ) [in Narendraprabha-sūri only]; sadaiva Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ [in Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa];

(c) sucaritais [in Udbhaṭa only]; sucaritair [in Sāyaṇa. Abhinavagupta. Narendraprabha-sūri. Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa]; sva-caritair [metrically wrong and should be corrected to sucaritair in the printed text of Śobhākaramitra]; sucaritaiḥ [in Vallabhadeva only]; sūktiṁ bibhrac [in Udbhaṭa (as per the proposed reading)]; bibhrat sāmyaṁ [in Sāyaṇa only]; bibhran mūrtiṁ [in Śobhākaramitra only]; mūrtiṁ bibhrac [in Abhinavagupta only]; mūrtir bibhrac [in Narendraprabha-sūri only]; bibhrad rūpaṁ [in Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa]; kīrtiṁ bibhrac [in Vallabhadeva only]; °-bhubhṛtam [in Sāyaṇa. Śobhākaramitra. Vallabhadeva. Abhinavagupta. Narendraprabha-sūri and Śrīdharadāsa]; °-bhū-bhujāṁ [in Vidyākara only];

(d) Māndhāteva tvaṁ [in Sāyaṇa only]; Māndhātā deva [in Śobhākaramitra. Vallabhadeva. Narendraprabha-sūri. Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa]; Māndhātā devas [in Abhinavagupta only]; °-vijayy [in Sāyaṇa. Śobhākaramitra. Vallabhadeva. Abhinavagupta. Narendraprabha-sūri and Vidyākara]; °-vidhāyy [in Śrīdharadāsa only].

verse to some Vīryamitra. There is no mention whatsoever of the work of this Vīryamitra and as such we are not in a position to check this ascription with the help of the original. In any case, one point is beyond any doubt that the author must have at least preceded Udbhaṭa—if Udbhaṭa himself cannot be credited with the authorship of the verse in question.

However, a close study of the same verse in its different textual traditions would reveal the fact that the syllabic remains of 'b' and 'c' in Udbhaṭa agree mostly with those in Sāyaṇa, Śobhākaramitra, Vallabhadeva, Abhinavagupta and Narendraprabha-sūri. But the last 7 syllables of 'b' ["sadaiva Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ"] in Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa are quite distinct from those in the rest—— even though the 4 syllables ["Śatrughnas tvaṁ"] preceding these last 7 are identical with those in Udbhaṭa and the rest. The first 6 syllables of 'b' ["mahati samare"], however, are common to all the textual traditions (excepting obviously Udbhaṭa).

Under these circumstances it would be advisable to leave out of our detailed discussion the uncertain wordings of the whole of 'a' and 'd', the first 6 syllables of 'b' and the last 7 syllables of 'c' of the verse because these text-portions cannot be verified with those in Udbhaṭa —— even though the panegyric *Geist* of the entire verse cannot be lost sight of.

We would therefore focus our attention on those syllabic remnants of 'b' and 'c' only in Udbhaṭa which have their counterparts in the remaining textual traditions, and enter into a fruitful discussion on the basis of these collated text-portions.

Thus, the preserved portion (to be precise, the last 11 syllables) of 'b' in Udbhaṭa contains two cases of *abhaṅga-śabda-śliṣṭa,* viz., i) Śatrughna and ii) Janaka. These two *śabdas* are intended indubitably by the panegyrist author to be interpreted in two different senses in each case. Thus, "Śatrughna" means both (i) Daśaratha-kaniṣṭha-putra Lavaṇa-hantṛ (in the upamāna-pakṣa) and (ii) ripu-ghātaka (in the case of the upameya, the prastuta king). Similarly "Janaka" means both (i) Mithilā-rāja Dharmadhvaja Sīta-pālaka-pitṛ (in the upamāna-pakṣa) and (ii) pitṛ (>nṛpa iti yāvat—in the upameya-pakṣa). Both "śatrughna" and "Janaka" have to be explained in their respective vācyārthas. To be explicit, "Śatrughna" and "Janaka" have to be treated as proper names [= kevala-samudāya-śaktika rūḍha-

śabdas; or samudāyā' vayava-śakti-saṅkaravat yoga-rūḍha-śabdas if taken connotatively (anvarthatayā — Lavaṇākhya-ripu-ghātaka and Sītā-pālaka-pitṛ)] when they are the upamānas in relation to the common upameya, the yuṣmac-chabda-jñāpita patron king. Similarly "śatrughna" [=śatru—+—han— + —ṭak kartari vācye] is a kevalāvayava-śaktika yaugika-śabda and "janaka" [= √jan— + —ṇic— + —ṇvul kartari vācye] is a samudāyā'vayava-śakti-saṅkaravat yoga-rūḍha-śabda or simply a kevala-samudāya-śaktika rūḍha-śabda [pāryantika-rūḍhyā-yogasya bādhāt; janaka = pitṛ (vyutpatti-nimitra) > (pitṛvat) nṛpa (pravṛtti-nimitta) —— "janakaḥ pitṛ-bhūpayoḥ" iti Haimaḥ]. These senses fit in with the upameya-pakṣa.

Now, the two vācyārthas of 'Śatrughna" and "Janaka" each are coupled through *abhaṅga-śabda śleṣa* in the eka-vṛnta-gata-phala-dvaya—nyāya. In this *śleṣa nihatārthatva*—doṣa is ignored by the ālaṅkārikas and as such the aprasiddha vācyārthas are not eclipsed by the prasiddha ones and there is thus no rasa-pratīti-vilamba as the *dūṣaṇa-bīja*.

Moreover, this *śleṣa* lies at the root of the bhede 'py abheda-rūpā atiśayokti.

This *atiśayokti,* again, beautifies the predominant alaṅkāra, *ullekha* of the eka-grahītṛka eka-viśeṣyaka aneka-hetuka aneka-viṣayaka aneka-prakāraka variety, from the standpoint of the later ālaṅkārikas like Ruyyaka, Śobhākaramitra, Jayaratha, Samudrabandha, Vidyā Cakravartin, etc.

There is thus aṅgāṅgi-bhāvena saṅkaraḥ.

But *ullekha,* the aṅgibhūta alaṅkāra in the present case, is a post-Mammaṭa creation and as such this alaṅkāra-setting has to be judged differently from the perspectives of the pre-Ruyyaka ālaṅkārikas ranging from Bhāmaha to Mammaṭa.

Thus, Bhāmaha's *śliṣṭa* and *atiśayokti* varieties do not virtually cover the present problematic case. Even the type of *śliṣṭa* with hetu-nirdeśa (=hetv-arthe pañcamī) in the *viśeṣaṇas* in Bhāmaha cannot correspond to the viṣayā'dhikaraṇe saptamī in "kṣitau" [and "samare" as well], and to the hetv-arthe tṛtīyā in the aśliṣṭa viśeṣaṇas like "guṇaiḥ", "kīrtya", etc., and to the prathamā in "°—vijayy" (or "°—vidhāyy").

Again, Bhāmaha does not have mālā-rūpaka to envisage *ullekha* of later date. The same is true of Bhaṭṭi as judged by Jayamaṅgala. Further, Daṇḍin's *hetu-rūpaka* does not cover the present case because the *viśeṣaṇas* "guṇaiḥ", "kīrtyā", etc. are not *śliṣṭa*. This also precludes the possibility of arguing in favour of *saṅkara* in which aneka-viṣayaka ullekha may be characterised by hetu-rūpaka in one avaccheda.

So the only alternative open to us is that this verse is an instance of niraṅga-mālā-rūpaka which is associated with *abhaṅga-śabda śliṣṭa*. Udbhaṭa is the first known ālaṅkārika to show mālā-rūpaka as a variety of rūpaka even though his intended twisted interpretation of the term samasta-vastu-viṣaya to mean mālā-rūpaka appears to look upon mālā-rūpaka as a sāvayava rūpaka. Pratīhārendurāja and Rājānaka Tilaka clearly explain the term samasta-vastu-viṣaya in this context in favour of mālā-rūpaka. From the perspective of Udbhaṭa and Pratīhārendurāja the verse in question is an instance of nānā-'laṅkāra-samuccaya-sāmāśraya eka-śabdābhidhāna-saṅkara (= eka-vācakā'nupraveśa-saṅkara) of mālā-rūpaka and mālā-rūpaka-pratibhotpatti-hetu (= mālā-rūpakā-'pavādaka = mālā-rūpaka-bādhaka) *abhanga-śabda śleṣa*.

But Tilaka would call it anugrāhyā'nugrāhaka-saṅkara (= aṅgāṅgi-bhāva-saṅkara) or saṁsṛṣṭi.

Further, Rudraṭa would view this verse as an instance of śuddha [= kevala = alaṅkārāntara-saṁsparśa-śūnya = alaṅkārāntarā'saṅkī-*rṇa*] artha-śleṣa of the avayava-śleṣa variety ignoring mālā-rūpaka here — even though he accepts aśliṣṭa mālā-rūpaka separately.

Furthermore, Bhoja's *aśliṣṭa mālā-rūpaka* covers *aśliṣṭa ullekha* of the post-Mammaṭa ālaṅkārikas. But the illustrations of Bhoja's śleṣa-varieties do not correspond with the verse under consideration.

Lastly, from the perspective of Tilaka and Mammaṭa the present verse should be treated as an instance of abhaṅga-śabda-śleṣā'nu-prāṇita (= abhaṅga-śabda-śleṣā'nuviddha) mālā-rūpaka. The alaṅkāra is mālā-rūpaka prādhānyena vyapadeśo bhavatīti nyāyāt or, to be strictly precise, aṅgāṅgi-bhāvena saṅkaraḥ in which mālā-rūpaka is the aṅgibhūta alaṅkāra while abhaṅga-śabda śleṣa, a śabdālaṅkāra (śabda-parivṛtty-asahatvāt), is the aṅgabhūta alaṅkāra. The mutual relationship is guṇa-pradhāna-bhāva. To put the matter differently, mālā-rūpaka is tatstha [= svayaṁ-siddha — abhaṅga-śabda-śleṣam

antareṇāpi aśliṣṭatayā mālā-rūpakasyā'tma-lābha-sambhavāt] and abhaṅga-śabda-śleṣa-sādhaka while abhaṅga-śabda-śleṣa is mālā-rūpaka-sādhya [mālā-rūpakā'nurodhenaiva abhaṅga-śabda-śleṣa—pratīti-sampatteḥ]. Besides, abheda is śabda-gata only.

In this context it would be interesting to note that Gāgā-bhaṭṭa appears to quote the view of Mammaṭa that ullekha has to be included in mālā-rūpaka — even though this citation is not traced in the extant Kāvya-prakāśa.

In any case, *śliṣṭa ullekha* cannot be included under *śliṣṭā atiśayokti* because this *atiśayokti* operates in respect of the upamāna-śabdas only and as such cannot explain away the abheda between these upamānas on the one hand and the common upameya on the other.

From the foregoing discussion we therefore come to the conclusion that the syllabic remnants of the verse "Pṛthur əsi...." as quoted by Udbhaṭa in his *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* appear to have been intended by him to supplement Bhāmaha's treatment of *śliṣṭa* with a peculiar variety in which *abhaṅga-śabda-śleṣa* is mālā-rūpaka-pratibhotpatti-hetu. Besides proving avyāpti-doṣa in Bhāmaha, who has neither mālā-rūpaka nor rūpaka-yukta śliṣṭa, Udbhaṭa shows originality and progressive ideas even as an ancient ālaṅkārika.

RASA AND ITS CORRELATIVES: AN ESSAY ON POESY

By SHRIKRISHNA MISHRA*

INTRODUCTORY

In *Literary Criticism: A Short History*, which perhaps is the best work at present on the History of Western Literary Criticism by two very able historians of criticism, Wimsatt and Cleanth Brooks, Wimsatt writes that Aristotle could not define poetry and no other writer could. Indeed a scientific or completely analytical definition of poetry has never been achieved (p. 25). He further writes:

> "This seems the place for a candid assertion that our own view as theorists of poetry is something like that which Aristotle is made to confess. We argue that criticism, if it is to occur at all, must be like that. It must be rational and aim at definitions, whether it can or cannot quite achieve them. But what is left over and above definition, we argue furthermore, is still an objective quality of poems, knowable if indefinable, and distinguishable from that other realm, the dark well of mystery and inspiration — which is the poet's alone. If these two areas, the knowable yet indefinable individuality of the poem and the unknowable or incommunicable mystery of the poet's inspiration, are alleged to show limits to the critic's activity, we concede the point. The first area, the individuality of the poetic utterance, may tease the critic's ambition. He would conquer it if he could though this is not required of him. With the second, the inspiration, he is scarcely concerned" (p.53).

The position of the Western criticism as summed up above seems to be that referred to by India's great critic, Ānandavardhana, in the first verse of *Dhvanyāloka* defining poetry as *Dhvani*, where he refers to such critics as say that the essence of poetry cannot be de-

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fined. The advanced thinking on poetics as shown by such Indian critics as Bharata, Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta indicate that the essence of poetry can be defined and that no nuclear area remains unexplored. Though a thorough analysis of the subject has been made by me in my book, "Coleridge's Concept of Imagination and Abhinavagupta's Concept of *Rasa* — A Comparative Study" soon to be published, I propose to present here in this article the Sanskritic standpoint in a nutshell. I have tried to present the Sanskrit poetic theory in the English idiom of thought and hope that it will help the Western critics to understand and appreciate the Indian standpoint. I, however, start the discussion with the Western critics for conveniently introducing Indian or Sanskrit poetics.

"Romanticism and classicism are not matters with which creative writers can afford to bother much" said T.S. Eliot,[1] the reputed critic of our times. Croce[2] stated : "If the classical phase of perfect representation or expression is necessary to the work of art, no less necessary is the romantic phase of emotion; poetry . . . cannot be exclusively either ingenious or emotional, it must be both ingenious and emotional."

A proper relation of the ingenious and the emotional aspects of poetry is the most important task of criticism. Plato, who held that "the poet is a light and winged and holy thing, and there is no invention in him until he has been inspired and is out of his senses, and the mind is no longer in him: when he has not attained to this state, he is powerless and unable to utter his oracles,"[3] could not successfully or clearly relate inspiration to imitation, with the result that he considered poets unfit as citizens for his ideal republic. His transcendental view of poetry failed to relate poesy (content) to poem (form). Artistotle whose *Poetics* is based on his theory of Becoming,[4] neglected the transcendental view and took up only an immanent view of poetry and consequently could not explain inspiration. Different interpretations of the term *Katharsis* are a pointer in the matter. For in the absence of a correct view of inspira-

1. T. S. Eliot, *Selected Prose*, ed. John Hayward, Penguin Books, p. 31.

2. *Problemi*, p. 20, quoted by A. E. Powell, *The Romantic Theory of Poetry*, p. 1.

3. Quoted by W. K. Wimsatt and Cleanth Brooks, *Literary Criticism, A Short History*, p. 6.

4. Cp. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Arts* 4th ed., p. 160.

tion, catharsis, the effect of poetry, is bound to remain a confused concept. The term *Katharsis* is supposed to have a clue to the Aristotelian view of inspiration. But it is not a clear concept inasmuch as the process of purgation or purification, whatever it may mean, is not explained by Aristotle and one has to make one's own guesses. The two aspects of poetry — poesy and poem, content and form, soul and body, or "making, the Aristotelian emphasis, and saying-seeing, the Platonic and romantic" as Cleanth Brooks puts it, have not been satisfactorily related to one another by the Western critics, with the result that their arguments become confused and their analyses come to a deadlock. "Not to know that a hind has no horns is a less serious matter than to paint it inartistically", said Aristotle. And Wimsatt remarks, "With the word *inartistically* Aristotle may be thought to have begged the question, and in a sense no doubt he has. In somewhat the same sense all the other poetic theory which we are to consider in this book will do the same — in the sense, that is, that a certain nuclear area of the indefinable will never be reduced by the theory; a scientific or completely analytic definition of poetry has never been achieved."[5]

Even I.A. Richards, a very able and influential critic of the thirties of this century noted "the chaos of critical theories" in these words : "A few conjectures, a supply of admonitions, many acute isolated observations, some brilliant guesses, much oratory and applied poetry, inexhaustible confusion, a sufficiency of dogma, no small stock of prejudices, whimsies and crotchets, a profusion of mysticism, a little genuine speculation, sundry stray inspirations, pregnant hints and random *apercus,* of such as these, it may be said without exaggeration, is extant critical theory composed."[6] And the situation even now has not improved very much.

The present article is a brief attempt to show that Bharata, the most ancient Indian critic, the author of an encyclopaedic work on dramaturgy, the *Nāṭyaśāstra,* as interpreted by his most gifted commentator, Abhinavagupta, gives the lie to such a general remark; that Bharata, Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta have succeeded in offering a scientific definition of art and poetry in the sense that nothing has been left undefined or indefinable in their analysis. While every good critic in the West has said something that has been

5. Wimsatt and Cleanth Brooks: *Literary Criticism: A Short History,* p. 25.

6. *Principles of Literary Criticism,* p. 6.

said by Bharata, Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, it is my contention that no single Western critic has presented a comprehensive view of art and poetry free from self-contradictions as has been done by Abhinavagupta in his commentaries on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* and Anandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*. They are the leading critics of India. And they have said the last word on the poetic inspiration and expression.

To prove my contention I discuss here a few important critics of the West first. Keeping in view the two aspects of poetry enunciated above I begin with Wordsworth whose statement that "all good poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" is quite a good description of the emotional content of poetry, though he did not explain the words satisfactorily. What makes feelings powerful or causes them to overflow spontaneously was not explained by him. He gave the poet's manifesto excellently well in the following words: "...the human mind is capable of being excited without the application of gross and violent stimulants; and he must have a very faint perception of its beauty and dignity who does not know this and who does not further know that one being is elevated above another, in proportion as he possesses this capability. It has, therefore, appeared to me, that to endeavour to produce or enlarge this capability is one of the best services in which, at any period, a writer can be engaged".[7] But in suggesting how the human mind is capable of being so excited he was so charmed by his love for "the beautiful and permanent forms" of nature and the "humble and rustic life", of such men who "hourly communicate with the best objects from which the best part of language is originally derived",[8] that his theory of poetry took a wrong scent and became almost exclusively a theory of rurality, if not rusticity, which, as was ably pointed out by Coleridge,[9] could hardly explain the charm of even his own best poems. And thus though his preface contains some of the most valuable ideas for a theory of poetry, it is not convincing as a whole, as it excludes a lot of genuine poetry that does not take rustic life or grand objects of nature as its subject matter.

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7. Preface to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800: *English Critical Essays*, *Nineteenth Century*, (World's Classics) p. 7.

8. Preface to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800: *English Critical Essays* (Nineteenth Century), pp. 4-5.

9. *Biographia Literaria*, ch. 17.

Take now an opposite case, T. S. Eliot, one of the ablest among poets and critics of the urban civilization. His formula of expression of emotion in art is taken to be a very importtnt contribution to literary criticism. The formula may be quoted here for refreshing our memory. "The only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is by finding an 'objective correlative'; in other words, a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that particular emotion, such that when the external facts, which must terminate in sensory experience, are given, the emotion is immediately evoked."[10] The emotion evoked is the "art emotion", not that of life, for, as Eliot points out, "the difference between art and the event is always absolute."[10a]

Even this formula requires a lot of improvement as we shall presently see. George Whalley has suggested an improvement. In his *Poetic Process* (p. 140), he says: "The poem, in one of its characters, is what Eliot has called 'the objective correlative' of a state of feeling....Let us suppose that within the unity of a poem we may distinguish smaller units which are objective correlatives of 'pieces of feeling'. When these units are suitably articulated, the poet has exhausted a particular state of feeling and has constructed a poem".

Moreover, Eliot could not satisfactorily explain the emotional aspect of the poem. He spoke of "a new art emotion", knew the subtle difference in the same artist between "the man who suffers and the mind which creates". He knew what "very few know when there is an expression of *significant* emotion, emotion which has its life in the poem and not in the history of the poet". But he did not proceed further to enquire what made the emotion significant, artistic. The passage in which he tries to explain it in a somewhat Coleridgean manner of reconciliation of opposites by pointing out a combination of "positive and negative emotions" or "structural emotion" and "floating feelings" is hardly clear as he does not analyse the combining factor. And so his "Impersonal theory of poetry"[11] remains opaque.

Eliot's "Impersonal theory of poetry" is not a new theory. It is only a restatement of Aristotle's idea that "poetry tends to express

10. T. S. Eliot, *Selected Prose*, Penguin ed., pp. 107-8.

10a. "Tradition and the Individual Talent", *Selected Prose*, p. 28.

11. "Tradition and the Individual Talent", *Selected Prose*, pp. 29, 27, 30, 29, 26.

the universal."[12] Butcher interprets this statement of Aristotle in the light of another where Aristotle says that "dancing imitates *ethe, pathe* and *praxeis*.[13] Butcher comes to the conclusion that "The actual objects of aesthetic imitation are threefold, *ethe, pathe* and *praxeis*". An understanding of these three terms is essential to comprehend the content and form of poetry. Butcher explains them thus : "By *ethe* are meant the characteristic moral qualities, the permanent disposition of the mind, which reveal a certain condition of the will : *pathe* are the more transient emotions, the passing moods of feeling : *praxeis* are actions in their proper and inward sense".[14] *Ēthe* are the "long-term character-traits",[15] which give the stamp of individulity to the individual and hence is generally translated by the word 'character' in English, though such a translation with its ethical associations has harmed literary criticism by obstructing a clear understanding of poetry and poetic theory.[16] *Pathe* are the "transient emotions", "passing impulses of feeling, intense, and overpowering".[17] Perhaps Eliot's phrases, "floating feelings" and "negative feelings",[18] mean something similar. *Praxeis* are inward actions. As Wimsatt very well puts it, "Aristotle, in short, means that poetic imita ion is an imitation of inner human action".[19]

Another learned summary, however, does not exclude outward action. Zeller's summary as translated by Costelloe and Muirhead may be quoted:

"The object of imitation in art is, generally speaking, nature or the actual world of experience. But nature includes man and

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12. *Poetics*, II. I. Butcher, p. 11.

13. *Poetics*, I. 5. Butcher, p. 9.

14. Butcher, *pp.* 122, 123.

15. John Keble's interpretation. See M. H. Abrams: *The Mirror and the Lamp*, p. 146.

16. Wilson Knight rejects the word "character" in his 'Shakespeare interpretation', "since it is so constantly intermixed with a false and unduly ethical critism" (*The Wheel of Fire*, p. 9). Cp. also *Poetics*, VI. 9—10, Butcher, p. 27.

17. John Keble's interpretation, M. H. Abrams: *The Mirror and the Lamp*, p. 146.

18. *Selected Prose*, p. 29.

19. Wimsatt and Cleanth Brooks: *Lit. Crit.: A Short Hist.*, p. 27.

his actions; indeed, it is with man alone that the most impressive arts—viz. poetry and music (even of the art of dancing it is said) have to do; and the object which it is the essential aim of the imitative artist to represent consists not merely of the outward appearance of things, but to a much greater degree of their inner intelligible essence." [20]

This shows that while the emphasis has to be put on inward action as the source of outward action, the latter is not excluded from the objects of imitation, as, indeed, it is impossible to do so. Mimesis or imitation, as Aristotle used the term, may also be regarded "as a perfecting of nature"[21] and, indeed, that was Aristotle's emphasis. Enunciating "the central thought of Aristotle's doctrine" Butcher says: "Imitative art in its highest form, namely poetry, is an expression of the universal element in human life".[22]

Aristotle certainly understood that perfecting human nature and expressing the universal element in human life are closely related, if not synonymous. But the word 'imitation' did not always have this sense. The artist is to "represent men either as better than in real life, or as worse, or as they are";[23] that is, "he may represent things as they are, or as they are commonly supposed to be, or as they ought to be"[24] and though Aristotle tried to explain and clarify this,[25] the entanglement of different meanings of 'imitation' made it a confused concept. It stood both for mimicry and idealisation[26] and the result was a collapse of the whole theory.

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20. *Artistotle and the Earlier Peripatetics* being a translation from Zeller's "Philosophy of the Greeks" by B.F.C. Costelloe and J.H. Muirhead, vol. II. pp. 304-5.

21. *Ibid.*, vol. II. p. 303, note 3.

22. *Poetics,* p. 150.

23. *Poetics,* II. 1. Butcher, p. 11.

24. Zeller, vol. II. p. 305.

25. *Poetics* IX 9, *op. cit.*, p. 37. "And even if he chances to take an historical subject, he is nonetheless a poet; for there is no reason why some events that have actually happened should not conform to the law of the probable and possible, and in virtue of that quality in them he is their poet or maker."

26. Cp. Butcher: "In the drama the poetic imitation of life attains its perfect form; but it is here also that the idea of imitation in its more rudimentary sense is at once apparent; speech has its counterpart in speech, and

It is this confusion that is also responsible for Aristotle's inability to place the two aspects of poetry, content and form, in opposition as well as relation to each other. *Pathe* and *praxeis* can be idealised only by idealising their corresponding *ethos* or the basic disposition of which the former two are the concrete transitory forms. Indeed to put all the three on the same level is a mistake. "If we may expand Aristotle's idea in the light of his own system", Butcher says, "fine art eliminates what is transient and particular and reveals the permanent and essential features of the original". (p. 150). If it is so, Aristotle's inclusion of *ethe* among the objects of imitation in the same way as *pathe* and *praxeis* is responsible for his inability to explain inspiration. *Ethe* can hardly be objects of mimicry. It has been so emphatically stated by Abhinavagupta. [37]

A modern critic, George Whalley, the author of *The Poetic Process,* says that the promiscuous use of words, feeling and emotion, by all the writers on criticism has been responsible for much confusion in thinking on poetry and criticism. It would be profitable to discuss Aristotle's idea of the universal a bit more. He says : "By the universal I mean how a person of a certain type will on occasion speak or act, according to the law of probability or necessity, and it is this universality which poetry aims at in the names she attaches to the personages".[28] Coleridge makes Aristotle's idea more clear. "Each thing that lives has its moment of self-exposition, and so has each period of each thing, if we remove the disturbing forces of accident. To do this is the business of ideal art, whether in images of childhood, youth, or age, in man or woman."[29]

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if the play is put on the stage, action is rendered by action. Indeed the term imitation, as popularly applied to poetry, was probably suggested to the Greeks by those dramatic forms of poetry in which acting or recitation produced an expression allied to that of mimicry." Again, "The artist may 'imitate things as *they ought to be*' : he may place before him an unrealised ideal." pp. 138, 122.

Cp. also F. L. Lucas: *Tragedy,* revised edition, p. 26, on *mimesis.* "It also includes the representation that idealises and the representation that caricatures. A difficult word. Neither Plato nor Aristotle seems to me adequately to disentangle its ambiguities."

27. See *Abhinavabharati* on *Natyasastra,* I. 37; VI. 275, 284.

28. *Poetics,* IX; 4, Butcher, p. 35.

29. 'On Poesy or Art,' *Biographia Literaria* by S. T. Coleridge edited with his aesthetical essays by J. Shawcross, Vol. II, p. 259.

It is certain that the poet has to imitate 'men in action' in their 'moment of self-exposition'. Accidental circumstances or personal emotions offer an easy lure to the artist and he has to keep strict vigilance over their undue intrusion in his work. Poetry cannot be equated with life or history. Aristotle said : "it is not the function of the poet to relate what has happened but what may happen".[30] Coleridge differentiated between natural emotion and artificial poetic emotion and Eliot differentiated "art emotion" from emotion in life, saying that "poetry is not a turning loose of emotion but an escape from emotion".[31] But Aristotle himself observes that what has happened is one of the forms of what may happen,[32] hence one would like to refer to some other principle which may mark a clear-cut differentia of action fit for poetic imitation, for otherwise to distinguish between the two kinds of action, artistic and inartistic. presents almost an insurmountable difficulty. And here Aristotle fails to be a guide. As for Eliot's statement, the second part, that it is "an escape from emotion", is wrong. George Whalley very well pointed out the flaw in the latter part when he stated : "The poet is not satisfied with a random escape from feeling for he is a contemplative nature and feeling is his window opening upon reality".[33] Or, again, "Poetry is not escape, but inscape; it is at once a discovery and fashioning of some aspect of the reality and the self".[34] As for the first part we may say that it misses the mark. for it only says what poetry is not; it offers no differentia for artistic emotion. The famous analogy of the shred of platinum by which Eliot has succeeded to state the fact of the impersonal feeling of the poet does not explain why the poet's mind remains unaffected like the shred of platinum. It is no doubt a clear statement of the fact of impersonality by analogy, but it is no explanation of the fact. Coleridge's analysis of impersonality or universality, which are two aspects of the same quality, is more clear. He makes a fuller statement on the subject. Commenting on Shakespeare he says :

"Shakespeare shaped his characters out of the nature within; but we cannot so safely say, out of his own nature as an individual

30. *Poetics*, IX, 1; p. 35.

31. 'Tradition and the Individual Talent. *Selected Prose*, pp. 28. 29. 30.

32. *Poetics*, p. 37.

33. *Poetic Process*, p. 107.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

person. No, this latter is itself but a *natura naturata,* an effect, a product, not a power. It was Shakespeare's prerogative to have the universal which is potentially in each particular, opened out to him in the *homo generalis,* not as an abstraction of observation from a variety of men, but as the substance capable of endless modifications, of which his own personal existence was but one, and to use this one as the eye that beheld the other, and as the tongue that could convey the discovery. (There is) no greater or more common vice in dramatic writers than to draw out of themselves.... Shakespeare in composing had no I but the I representative."[35]

A note-book entry repeats the same idea: "Poetry is rationalised dreaming dealing to manifold forms our own feelings, that never perhaps were attached by us consciously to our personal selves. What is the *Lear,* the *Othello,* but a divine dream, all Shakespeare and nothing Shakespeare".[36]

Aristotle must have also meant the same thing by universality. Contrasting the standpoint of Aristotle from that of Plato, Butcher says: "The fundamental thought of Aristotle's philosophy, on the other hand, is Becoming, not Being; and Becoming to him meant not an appearing and a vanishing away, but a process of development, an unfolding of what is already in the germ, an upward ascent ending in Being which is the highest object of knowledge....Fine art was no longer twice removed from the truth of things; it was the manifestation of a higher truth, the expression of the universal which is not outside of and apart from the particular, but presupposed in each particular".[37]

Abrams seems to have missed the important observation of Coleridge quoted above when he summarised the Aristotelian view in these words: "it maintains that the models and forms for artistic imitation are selected and abstracted from the objects of sense perception."[37a]

"All Shakespeare and nothing Shakespeare" is a perfect phrase for it is a complete statement of a complete truth. Keats delineat-

35. Lecture 7. *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism,* ed. by T. M. Raysor.

36. Note-book 15 in the British Museum, entry dated May 11, 1804, quoted in *Coleridge's Shakespeare Criticism,* ed. by T. M. Raysor, vol. II, pp. 85-6.

37. *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art,* p. 160.

37a. *The Mirror and the Lamp,* p. 36.

ed the poetical character similarly,[38] though perhaps it is doubtful if he understood as much as Coleridge did by it. Keats's statement justifies such a doubt; "It (poetical character) is not itself—it has no self—it is everything and nothing". A poet "has no Identity—he is continually infor (ming) and filling some other Body". Keats had no metaphysical theory of the universal as Coleridge had. Coleridge would have deleted the words "it has no self' "has no Identity" from the above passage.

Still more telling is another passage : "If the artist copies the mere *natura naturata,* what idle rivalry ? If he proceeds only from a given form, which is supposed to answer to the notion of beauty, what an emptiness, what an unreality there always is in his productions, as in Cipriani's pictures , Believe me, you must master the essence, the *natura naturans,* which presupposes a bond between nature in the higher sense and the soul of man.[39]

A careful study of these passages gives a clear idea of what universality means. Once we understand the universal, impersonality becomes an easy concept. Shakespeare created his characters out of his own nature, not by 'filling some other body" as Keats said. Rather we should say that he could fill some other body not by any Yogic feat, but simply by diving deep into the universal substance of his own nature, the *natura naturans* which is capable of endless modifications, which is potentially in each particular, which presupposes an inner essential bond between the poet and his objects. It is only on the background of this inner essence common to all individuals that we can understand what Aristotle meant by probability or by his difference between what may happen and what has happened. We can now understand Eliot's remark the "emotions which he (the poet) has never experienced will serve his turn as well as those familiar to him".[40]

Coleridge has explained his concept of the essence, the *natura naturans,* in detail in chapters that lead to his famous definition of Imagination in the *Biographia Literaria.* It is no other than the infinite eternal self-consciousness, the ground of all existence and

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38. Letter 93. *Letters of John Keats* edited by M. B. Forman. pp. 226–8.

39. 'On Poesy or Art,' *B.L.,* II. 257.

40. *Selected Prose,* p. 29.

all knowledge, and hence the bond between man and outside world.

Coleridge seems to offer a criticism of Aristotle. Writing of imitation he says: "The idea which puts the form together cannot itself be the form. It is above form, and is its essence, the universal in the individual or the individuality itself—the glance and the exponent of the indwelling power".[41] As has been excellently pointed out by Cleanth Brooks, "A theory of art will not be able to get along without at least two key terms—to stand in partial opposition to each other and keep the theory from collapsing into tautology or into literalism. At the same time it will hardly be a theory at all unless it tries to bring these two terms into a reconciled and necessary relation, or to see each in and through the other."[42]

Natura naturata is the individual, particular aspect of a thing. The universal is the content, the soul; the particular is its form, the body. It is on the basis of these two opposites, the universal and the particular, the subject as perceiver and the object as perceived, that Coleridge based his famous definition of the ideal or perfect poet in the fourteenth chapter of the *Biographia Literaria* and his concept of the poetic power which he named the Esemplastic Imagination. "The power", he pointed out, "...reveals itself in the balance or reconcilement of opposite or discordant qualities: of sameness, with difference; of the general with the concrete; the idea with the image; the individual with the representative; the sense of novelty and freshness with old and familiar objects; a more than usual state of emotion with more than usual order; judgement ever awake and steady self-possession with enthusiasm and feeling profound or vehement; and while it blends and harmonizes the natural and artificial, still subordinates art to nature; the manner to the matter; and our admiration of the poet to our sympathy with the poetry".[44]

Coleridge's enthusiasm at his discovery brought such an overflow of ideas that he viewed the opposites in many ways. Viewing

41. 'On Poesy or Art', *B.L.*, II. 259.

42. *Op. cit.*, p. 753.

44. *B.L.* II, 12.

the opposites in so many ways was harmful because the real opposites to be reconciled were lost sight of. Truly speaking the opposites to be reconciled in poetic experience are the subject and the object. The finite subject and the finite object can never be reconciled. Particulars are always separate. Universals alone unite. In order to unite both the subject and the object should be universal. Poetry is really feeling or *ethos* impregnated with Reason or infinite self-consciousness. Coleridge said so, yet he did not clarify this. He did not clearly state that the object of poetic experience was *ethos* or the basic under-current of feeling and the subject was the eternal infinite self-consciousness. He unnecessarily brought in the concept of Imagination that became an obstacle to the reconciliation.

Creation is possible only by impregnating *ethos* or the universal basic feeling with Reason or infinite self-consciousness and when the poet experiences that impregnation he gets the power to create. It is then that imitation as mimicry ceases and imitation as creation, idealisation, becomes possible. The eternal self-consciousness is the highest state of Being, and hence is a form of feeling, "a more than usual state of emotion with more than usual order", [45] Joy, which is described by Coleridge as the "beautiful and the beauty-making power" in his *Dejection : an Ode.*

It is a pity that having found this nucleus of the universal self-consciousness Coleridge failed to give a scientific definition of poetry. He even knew that "poetry...is purely human; for all its materials are from the mind and all its products are for the mind", yet perhaps Wordsworth's association or his own larger metaphysical interests made him define art in terms of reconciliation of nature and man rather than Reason and feelings. The hint thrown by Aristotle in his analysis of the mind as *ethe, pathe* and *praxeis,* was not at all utilised by him with the result that he could not give an acceptable definition of poetry, even after finding the key to the celestial palace of the Muses. The principle of reconciliation of opposites, of the infinite universal essence and the particular finite form, was a seminal idea which could easily have led him to find out a scientific definition of poetry, had he concen-

45. *B.L.* II, 12 Cp. also "Every human feeling is greater and larger than the exciting cause—a proof, I think, that man is designed for a higher state of existence...." 'On Poesy or Art', *B.L.*, II, p. 261.

trated more on the Aristotelian objects of imitation. He seems to have been satisfied with his own discovery of the esemplastic Imagination.

After defining art as "the imitatress of nature" in the Aristotelian fashion, he goes on to say that "It is sufficient that philosophically we understand that in all imitation two elements must co-exist, and not only co-exist, but must be perceived as co-existing. These two constituent elements are likeness and unlikeness, or sameness and difference, and in all genuine creations of art there must be a union of these disparates. The artist may take his point of view where he pleases, provided that the desired effect be perceptibly produced,—that there be likeness in the difference, difference in the likeness, and a reconcilement of both in one".[46] The principle of reconciliation of opposites was a great discovery, but the opposites in poetry were too widely defined.

His another "definition of poetry...as the regulative idea of all the Fine Arts" is "the excitement of emotion for the purpose of immediate pleasure, through the medium of beauty".[47] But here the ambiguity of the word 'emotion' makes the definition worthless. Emotion as felt in life is not the same as that roused by a poem. Coleridge himself said that "Poetry which excites us to artificial emotions makes us callous to real ones".[48] And beauty which he defined after Pythagoras as "Multeity in Unity"[49] again introduced the theory of the reconciliation of opposites which were too wide as already noted. He himself noted the inadequacy of the word "pleasure" for expressing the joy got through a poem.[50]

It is here that we come to realise the importance of Bharata who in his famous *Rasa-sūtra* makes the most precise statement about the poetic form, content and value. Abhinavagupta, in his commentaries on Bharata's *Nāṭya-Śāstra* as well as Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* analysed poetry so fully that nothing remains unexplained.

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46. 'On Poesy or Art'. *B.L.*, II. 255-6.
47. "On the Principles of Genial Criticism." *B.L.*, II, 224.
48. *Anima Poetae*, p. 5.
49. "On the Principles of Genial Criticism." *B.L.*, II. 232.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

II

The technical term as well as the key concept which stands for the essence of poetry, nay, of all fine arts, in Indian aesthetics, is *Rasa*. The word is no coinage of Bharata. It occurs in the *Taittariya Upaniṣad*,[51] where it has been equated with the highest Reality conceived variously as Joy, Life, and Activity in its infinite, universal, essential aspect. 'Who can even breathe without it?' says the Upaniṣadic seer. Bharata almost echoes the same idea in different words when he says that nothing can be understood in poetry without first understanding the concept of *Rasa*.[52] Abhinavagupta makes it more clear in his commentary. He says that without comprehending the concept of *Rasa* it is impossible even to explain the nature of aesthetic objects and feelings. *Rasa*, which is the poetic essence, has, therefore, to be explained first.

Bharata defines the concept of *Rasa* in the characteristic style of Indian philosophers in an aphorism which is generally known as the *Rasa-sūtra*. It is a sentence of two compound words:

Vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicāri-saṁyogād Rasa-niṣpattiḥ. It means that *Rasa* is *evoked* by a *proper relation* of *vi-bhāva, anu-bhāva* and *vyabhicāri-bhāva*.

All these words here have been used in a technical sense and require explanation. But we shall first begin with *Bhāva*, a common appellation of the last three terms. Abhinava explains *bhāva* as a 'psychic mode'.[53] Bharata speaks of two different etymologies of the word. According to one, *bhāva* means 'becoming', it does not remain fixed even for a moment, it always changes in intensity. According to another, it means 'diffusion', 'pervasion', 'spreading over'.[54] It is in this second sense, Bharata points out, that the word is used by him; and later writers on aesthetics follow him.

Another important statement of Bharata about *bhāva* is that it has three stages.[55] It is necessary to describe these three stages first

51. *Daśopaniṣad*, p. 302 (*Vāṇīvilasa* edition. Kāshi): Raso Vai Saḥ. Rasam hyevayam labdhvā ānandībhavati. Ko hyevānyāt kaḥ prāṇyāt yadyesa ākāśa ānando na syāt. Eṣa evānandayati.

52. Na hi rasādṛte kaścidarthaḥ pravartate. See Abhinava's commentary on it. *Nāṭya-śāstra*, vol. I. pp. 271-2 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series).

53 Bhāvaś cittavṛtti-lakṣaṇā evocyate. *Abhinava-Bhāratī* on *NS*. I. 346.

54. *N S*. pp. 342–345.

55. *Abhinava-Bhāratī* on *NS*. I (Ch. 7. verse 108). p. 377:
Ekonapañcāśadime yathāvad
Bhāvāstryavasthā gaditā mayeha.

a bit freely ignoring the two meanings of the word noted above.

It is a common belief among the Indian philosophers that an individual's experiences leave impressions on his mind, which stores them for ever as 'psychic residues', called *vāsanās* or *saṁskāras*.[56] Some of these predominate over others and become the formative elements of his life and determine not only his character, but also his birth.[57] They are directional impulsive orientations and become the permanent innate tendencies of his mind since his very birth. Death is merely an interlude in the great drama of life. It is 'but a sleep and a forgetting' while life continues moving on in one form or another owing to the directional, impulsive orientations of these psychic residues. These innate tendencies are, therefore, called sthāyi-bhāvas, meaning the permanent or basic tendencies, of a living being. *Lokāpekṣayā sthāyinah*,[59] says Abhinava, for according to him nothing material is permanent, not even the basic tendencies, the formative elements of life. They are permanent only in a relative or a worldly sense. In the absolute sense eternal self-consciousness alone is permanent as will be clear later on. This point is of considerale importance in Abhinava's theory of value. Here I wish to state that it is on this account that the word *sthāyī* should better be translated by the word 'basic' than by the word 'permanent'. According to Bharata and Abhinavagupta, and they are followed by many others, these basic tendencies are eight in number: love, mirth, sorrow, anger, enthusiasm, fear, aversion and wonder.

There is not a single living creature who can be said to be bereft of these. Individual differences are there, because these permanent tendencies are found in different proportions in different individuals and also because they are tagged to proper objects in some cases and to improper objects in other cases. Hence arises

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56. Vācaspati Miśra on Yogasūtra IV. 9. p. 182, (Ānandāśrama edition). Cp. I. A. Richards. *Principles of Literary Criticism*, pp. 106. 107.

57. Vyāsa on *Yogasūtra*, IV. 10. Here we may remind ourselves of the Hindu belief in the cycle of births.

58. Evaṁ jāto mṛto'smīti janma-mṛtyu-vicitrataḥ
Ajanmanyamṛtau bhānti citta-bhittau svakalpitāḥ.
Mālinīvijayavārtikam, kāṇḍa I. verse 1047.

59. *AB*, vol. I, p. 288.

the great necessity of fine arts and poetry that tag or should tag our basic tendencies to proper objects.[60] And this is one of the ways how Indian writers on aesthetics relate art to morality.

Abhinava points out that the value of a basic tendency lies in its usefulness for achieving the four great aims of life—*Dharma* (proper conduct), *Artha* (material prosperity), *Kāma* (satisfaction of desires, especially sexual), and *Mokṣa* (complete spiritual freedom). Hence he points out that the function of poetry or fine arts is to direct people's basic tendencies on right lines, to make them desire proper objects and discard the improper ones or as Mammaṭa puts it, to teach them to behave like Rāma and not like Rāvaṇa. But this is done not in the commanding fashion of a teacher or the advising manner of a friend. The poetic teaching is like the sweet persuasion of the beloved.

I.A. Richards bases his theory of value on the satisfaction of impulses, which he divides into 'appetencies' and 'aversions'. He has a different criterion to decide the importance or value of an appetency: "Anything is valuable which will satisfy an appetency without involving the frustration of some equal or more important appetency; in other words, the only reason which can be given for not satisfying a desire is that more important desires will thereby be thwarted." Generalising it for both kinds of impulses, he says: "The importance of an impulse, it will be seen, can be defined for our purposes as the extent of the disturbance of other impulses in the individual's activities which the thwarting of the impulse involves."[60a]

It is interesting to note that the difference of the criterion does not bring any material difference in the result aimed at or arrived at.

This appetency, impulse, basic tendency or *sthāyibhāva* is the unconscious state of *Bhāva*,[61] and its region being vast, is compared

60. Jāta eva hi jantuḥ iyatībhiḥ saṁvidbhiḥ parīto bhavati.... Na hyetat-cittavṛtti-vāsanā-śūnyaḥ prāṇī bhavati. Kevalaṁ kasyacit kācidadhikā cittavṛttiḥ Kācidūnā. Kasyaciducitaviṣayaniyantritā. Kasyacidanyathā. Tatkācideva pumarthopayoginī ityupadeśyā. AB. I. 282-3.

60a. *Principles of Literary Criticism*, ch. VII. pp. 48 and 51.

61. Cp. Kālidasa's famous verse (*Śākuntalam*, v. 9) where he explains why even beautiful objects and sweet music often make one sad. He explains this strange phenomenon in terms of associations with objects of love lying hidden in the unconscious region of *bhāva*.

to an ocean by later writers.[62] It is often explained as a tendency of the mind that cannot be affected even by those psychic tendencies that are opposed to it. Bharata calls it 'the master among psychic modes.'[63] It is the first stage of *bhāva*, out of which the second emerges. It is, as Abhinava puts it, a bias that is not born out of contact with any outside worldly object but is an innate impulsive orientation owing to psychic residues that have their sources in almost a beginningle s past.[64]

Taking the analogy of the ocean we may explain the second stage of *bhāva* as the stage of waves that take their rise from the ocean of the basic tendency only to disappear in it after a momentary appearance.[65] There are thirty-three ways of momentary effusion of *bhāva*. Śāradātanaya says that if there be found any other transient psychic mode, that has to be included in this very category.[66] All these thirty-three are not found in association with each of the basic feelings. These are the emotional complexes created by outside objects. What is otherwise a basic feeling may have a transient manifestation in association with another basic feeling. But it is important to note that none of the thirty-three transient psychic modes appears as a permanent tendency. The difference between a basic feeling and an ephemeral emotion is sometimes explained with the example of a garland, where the thread that keeps the flowers together represents the basic feeling while the flowers represent the transient emotions. Coleridge's phrase, 'the under-current of feeling,[67] may very well explain the nature of the 'basic feeling'.

62. *Daśarūpaka*, IV. 7; *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, p. 157 (Nirṇayasāgara edition) footnotes on III. 174.

63. Bahvāśrayatvāt svāmibhūtāḥ sthāyino bhāvāḥ.
Yathā narāṇāṁ nṛpatiḥ, śiṣyāṇāṁ ca yathā guruḥ.
Evaṁ hi sarvabhānām bhāvaḥ sthāyī mahān iha.
NS, I. pp. 349-350.

64. Antargato'nādiprāktana-saṁskāra-pratibhānamayo, na tu laukikaviṣayajo rāgaḥ. *AB* on *NS*, vol. I, p. 345.

65. Vyabhicāriṇa udayasthityapāya-tridharmakāḥ.
Locana (Kāshi edition), p. 175.
Sthāyinyunmagnanirmagnāḥ kallolā iva vāridhau.
Daśarūpaka, IV. 7.
Bhāvaprakāśanam, p. 25, l. 20.

66. *Bhāvaprakāśanam*, p. 25, lines 6-7.

67. *B.L.*, I. 15.

The third stage of *bhāva* is the stage of expression. Even in the second stage, which is a stage of response to outside objects, *bhāva* is a purely psychic mode, something not to be perceived but to be inferred or suggested. It is in this third stage of expression that it becomes fit for perception. This stage is not purely a physical stage; it is psychophysical. [68]

On account of this double aspect of expression, psychical as well as physical, there are two words that Bharata uses for it. It is called *sāttvika* when its psychical aspect is emphasised and it is called *anubhāva* when its physical aspect is emphasised. But even Bharata often uses the terms promiscuously, and so does Abhinava. In many later works on aesthetics, the word, *anubhāva* is favoured and the word, *sāttvika* is completely neglected.

The expression starts in the mind and ends in the physical signs on the body of the individual whenever he responds to any outside situation. These expressions in their psychical rather than physical aspect are eight.

Thus the psychic residues or *vāsanās* first take a directional tendency and then pass through the stage of momentary effusions in response to objects and end in psychophysical expressions. The one energy passes through three stages. This is the entelechy of *vāsana*.

Bharata's analysis of the three stages of psychic energy seems very close to that of Aristotle as suggested by his terms *ethe, pathe* and *praxeis*.

I have almost a conviction that the Aristotelian concepts of *ethe, pathe and praxeis* were taken from India either from Bharata or from some earlier writer. Had the Indians borrowed their concepts of *sthāyibhāva, vyabhicāribhāva* and *anubhāva* from the Greeks, there must have been more elaborate discussions on them in the Greek works, either of Aristotle or of earlier writers. But the fact before us is otherwise. The very concept of *vāsanā* or *saṁskāra* is fundamentally Indian as is the concept of the cycle of births. These too concepts are verly closely related. *Vāsanā* is taken to be the cause of birth and the nature of both birth and life are

68. Antarbahirātmanā sāttvikena—*AB*, I. 343.

determined by it. *Vāsanā*, which primarily is caused by the power of limitation as an aspect of the freedom of the eternal self-consciousness later on becomes the very nature of an individual determining his birth and life.

In English the terms 'feeling' and 'emotion' are promiscuously used. This confusion, says George Whalley (*Poetic Process*, p. 66), appears "in every writer on poetic experience and the nature of poetry", and he says that "to distinguish clearly between them" is "one of the most important tasks for a philosophical critic at the present time". He chooses feeling as his key-term, which he explains as "the irreducible energetic principle for all psychic organisation", "a specific aspect of intension", "the orientation of the person in a dynamic and directional sense', which is "personal only in the sense that it is generated in a person". Emotion "he takes to mean" "a complex of feeling" which "necessarily involves personality". "In the light of this distinction", Whalley remarks, "I should further urge that the word, 'aesthetics' be taken to mean (in accordance with the Greek derivation of the term), the enquiry into states and processes of feeling".

Whalley's distinction supports Bharata's distinction between *sthāyi-bhāva* and *vyabhicārī-bhāva*. But it does not seem to me so comprehensive or correct as the analysis of Bharata. Thus, for example, his remark that "emotion is centripetal" (*Poetic Process*, p. 67) seems to me only a half-truth. According to Abhinavagupta *vyabhicāri-bhāva* or transient psychic mode (that Whalley's 'motion' is) is as much centripetal as centrifugal. In the process of idealisation, emotions submerge in the 'basic feeling', (Abhinava's *sthāyibhāva*, Aristotle's *ethos*, or Whalley's *feeling*), and have a centripetal tendency. They then tend inward to the centre. In ordinary worldly stage, they have a centrifugal tendency seeking concrete physical expression.

I.A. Richards in presenting his psychological theory of value starts with impulses, divides them into appetencies and aversions, and rejects the terms 'feelings' and 'emotions' in his analysis of the principles of literary criticism.[69]

Lack of a fixed nomenclature in this regard shows a lack of unanimity among Western scholars in the psychological analysis

69. *P.L.C.*, chs. 7 and 11.

of the problem of 'being' and 'becoming'. It has done immense harm to the development of a true poetics in the West.

Bharata's analysis of the three stages of 'bhāva' — which, by the way, gets the support of such a great authority as Aristotle--seems to me the most clear and convincing account of the subject. Even Richards and Whalley and Eliot (who in his 'Tradition and the individual Talent' speaks similarly of "the structural emotion" and "a number of floating feelings, having an affinity to this emotion") all support Bharata in different ways.

I think it would serve the cause of a clear conception of poetry, if we fix the nomenclature of the three psychic stages as feeling, emotion and expression, corresponding to Bharata's terms, *sthāyi-bhāva, vyabhicāri-bhāva* and *anubhāva,* and Aristotle's *ethe, pathe* and *praxeis.*

The difference between the common experience of psychic becoming and the uncommon one of psychic or rather super-psychic being found in aesthetic experience, however, cannot be understood simply by fixing the nomenclature of psychic and super-psychic states but by understandiny that universalization is possible only in the stage of feeling, the basic feeling, and that idealization has its repurcussions on the other stages as well.

Experience, whether it be a feeling or a knowing, is always a relation of the subject with the object of experience, a union of the two; and it has to be carefully noted that the subject is always wider than the object. Consciousness has to extend itself in order to grasp the object. In case it does not or cannot, the object remains ungrasped, unknown. The basic feeling remains always as an undercurrent in the unconscious and ordinarily no man ever grasps it. It is only in an aesthetic experience that it is grasped. The reason is that while in an ordinary experience the subject is always the finite self-consciousness of mind, in the aesthetic experience it is always the infinite self-consciousness. The basic feeling flowing as an undercurrent in the infinite unconscious region of the mind is itself infinite and can never be grasped by a finite subject. Indeed its being unconscious only means that it remains out of the mind's grasp. Actually speaking, mind is only a material instrument of knowledge, not the subject. Abhinava points out that the subject everywhere is infinite self-consciousness. It has two instruments of knowing and feeling. One is finite and the other

infinite. They are respectively called *Māyā* and *Sad-vidyā*. In the aesthetic experience the instrument of knowing or feeling is the latter.

Coleridge had similar ideas. *Māyā* and *sad-vidyā* correspond to his concepts of Understanding and Reason, or natural spontaneous common consciousness and super-natural artificial philosophic consciousness.[69a] But his concept of a third intermediate faculty of imagination connecting the two regions of consciousness made a confusion.[70]

The terms *sthāyi-bhāva, sañcāri* or *vyabhicāri-bhāva* and *sāttvika bhāva* or *anubhāva* are terms which, critics insist, should be taken to mean only aesthetic states and should be distinguished from the stages of psychic becoming in any ordinary experience. Indeed that is the significance of differentiating between the two meanings of the word *bhāva* and of stating that the word is here used in the second sense of 'pervasion' only. Abhinava, like Richards, uses the most general terms — *Karana* (cause), *Sahakari-karana* (associates) and *karya* (effect) — for the feeling, emotions and their expressions. But while Richards does not differentiate between aesthetic and ordinary experience and shows that the difference is based on a linguistic confusion, Abhinava like Coleridge clearly differentiates the ordinary experience from the aesthetic experience on the basis of the difference of the organs used in the two experiences. The organ of the aesthetic experience is the infinite self-consciousness, that of the ordinary experience is the finite mind as already stated.

There is one more word, *vibhāva,* that has to be understood before we can understand *Rasa*. *Vibhāba* has a double character. The person or the thing, the circumstance or the incident, indeed whatever stimulates and the person who reacts are both equally called *vibhāva*. The former is excitant (*uddīpana*), and the latter, substratum or the ground (*ālambana*) of feeling. In the latter reactions are seen. But, as Abhinava points out, the differentiation is not necessary for understanding the aesthetic feeling, that is, *Rasa,* and so Bharata does not make such a differentiation

69a. See *Biographia Literaria*, vol. I. pp. 164. 168.

70. See the present author's thesis: *Coleridge's Concept of Imagination and Abhinavagupta's Concept of Rasa—A Comparative Study.*

at all. As a matter of fact, for the spectator or the reader who enjoys the aesthetic feeling, both *ālambana* and *uddīpana* fall in one and the same category of *uddīpana,* for the actions described or displayed only rouse his own feeling and emotions which he enjoys in a peculiar way of togetherness with the characters described or displayed.

In the world we see a person reacting when he comes in contact with persons, things, or situations. Such reactions are either pleasant or unpleasant. But there is another way of reacting. The person who reacts may be so absorbed in the stimulants that he may be forgetting the spatial and temporal bonds of the stimulants. At such a moment he gets a peculiar experience of communion with his own spirit. His eternal infinite self-consciousness is evoked. He as subject and all other things or persons outside him as objects differ from each other simply on account of the limitation due to space and time. As soon as the experience is raised above space and time, the infinite eternal self-consciousness, which is the common essence between the subject and the object, wells up and overwhelms both the finite subject and the object with its own essence that is *Rasa.*

The eternal self-consciousness, according to Abhinava, is a unity of subject and object. It is a trinitarian concept of Reality. There are three things, subject, object and their union. Self-consciousness is the only substance or reality or state or existence or knowledge — in whatever way we view it — which completely covers all these three. Thus self-consciousness may be viewed in its immanent aspect as the ground of existence of all objects. Or it may be viewed in its transcendental aspect as the ground of all knowledge. But the two are not mutually exclusive in the most primary states of existence and knowledge. The immanent aspect appears as such only because the transcendental aspect is subdued in that state. The transcendental aspect includes the immanent aspect, for a subject cannot be a subject without being related to an object. Self-consciousness is thus a peculiar unity of subject and object, where one's innermost self as subject perceives itself as object, if such a language be possible at that stage of experience. The subject, object and their essential unity at this stage are termed separately only for the sake of convenience, as a help to the finite mind for understanding the subject matter. Actually speaking, they cannot be said to exist separately in that most primary state. Coleridge says almost the same thing when he differentiates the substantial knowledge from the abstract knowledge in the following words of the *Friend*:[71]

71. Sec. 2. Essay 11. p. 344 (Bohn's Standard Library edition).

"The groundwork, therefore, of all true philosophy is the full apprehension of the difference between the contemplation of reason, namely, that intuition of things which arises when we possess ourselves, as one with the whole, which is substantial knowledge, and that which presents itself when transferring reality to the negations of reality, to the ever-varying frame-work of the uniform life, we think of ourselves as separated beings, and place nature in antithesis to the mind, as object to subject, thing to thought, death to life. This is abstract knowledge, or the science of the mere understanding. By the former we know that existence is its own predicate, self-affirmation, the one attribute in which all others are contained, not as parts, but as manifestations. It is an eternal and infinite self-rejoicing, self-loving, with a joy unfathomable, with a love all-comprehensive. It is absolute; and the absolute is neither singly that which it affirms, nor that which is affirmed; but the identity and living copula of both."

He again says (Essay 4, Sec. 2, p. 302): "For in attending too exclusively to the relations which the past or passing events and objects bear to general truth, and the moods of his own thought, the most intelligent man is sometimes in danger of overlooking that other relation in which they are likewise to be placed to the apprehension and sympathies of his hearers. *His discourse appears like soliloquy intermixed with dialogue*". (Italics mine).

Various terms have been used in Indian philosophy to denote the trinitarian concept of Reality. The most common is the Upanisadic *Saccidānanda,* where *sat* means existence or rather the ground of all existence; *cit* is awareness of *sat,* that is complete knowledge of all existence; and the feeling of fullness, that nothing exists beyond, that no more remains to be known, this sense of plenitude that overflows from the union of *Sat* and *Cit* is *Ananda.* Abhinava and his teachers use the words *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa* meaning self and consciousness respectively and they illustrate their unity best by the word *Aham,* meaning 'I' or more correctly 'I AM I', consisting of the two letters of the Sanskrit alphabet, *aḥ* and *am.*[72] showing the unity of

72. Cp. Mahamahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Gopīnatha Kaviraj:

"The Transcendent or anuttara (*a*). by means of *visarga* (up to "*h*" or *prāṇa*). reveals itself as *Śakti* (*ha*) and then returns to itself and abides in the indivisible *prakāśa,* which is its own eternal Self. called *Śiva-bindu* (*m*)

self and its projection (that consciousness is) in the union of the first with the last letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. *Ah* represents all object. They appear existent because *a*, the eternal infinite self, the ground of all existence, lies immanent in them all. Objects in their objective forms have only imaginary existence. They are projections of self, *visarga*, (:), *ah*. In the transcendental form also they are united with self or *a*. This transcendental unity is signified by *anusvara*, am, (.) or bindu which also requires self, *a*, for its existence. Thus *Aham* denotes the unity of subject and object, existence and consciousness. It is self-consciousness, the eternal infinite I AM or I AM I, which is both immanent and transcendental simultaneously.

The two-fold division of subject and object in the ordinary experience cannot be satisfactorily explained without a self-duplicating Absolute which can be no other than the self-evident reality of Self-consciousness.[73] Similarly a complete unification of the subject with the outside objects can hardly be explained without consciousness and existence, subject and object, being one in the ultimate primary state. While in the world knowledge is possible only on the basis of accepting a common principle immanent in both subject and object, ecstatic empathy between the two shows the transcendental aspect of the same principle.

This infinite eternal self-consciousness which is a unified whole appears split up in worldly existence and knowledge. If somehow the obstacles to the realisation of this unity are removed, a vision, an inner perception, of that unity is achieved. The transcendental self-consciousness subdues the finite self for the time

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—a—ha—m. This is how in the universal consciousness which is no better than bare awareness there arises a sense of "I". Its relation to the not-self, e.g. body, etc. is an event in time which is psychologically explicable. The Ego-sense in pure consciousness reveals it as one's own Self (Svātman). The unity of *Śiva* and *Śakti* follows logically from the integrality or oneness of this sense which covers both. This is the secret of the fullness of Ego or *purṇāhamtā*, ..."

"The unity of *prakāśa*' and *vimarśā* is the *bindu* called *Kāma* or *ravi* (sun)."

'*Śākta Philosophy*', *History of Philosophy: Eastern and Western*, vol. I. p. 417.

73. Here Abhinava agrees with Coleridge in toto. See chapter XIII of the *Biographia Literaria*. For a comparison of Abhinavagupta and Coleridge see the present writer's thesis referred to above.

being and the objects lose their objectivity and become part of the subject's own feeling (*bhāva*). This 'overflow' or 'pervasion' of infinite eternal self-consciousness over the finite subject as well as the objects of contemplation is *Rasa*. Hence it is that in Indian aesthetics even physical objects and physical expressions of feelings are designated by such terms as *vi-bhāva* and *anu-bhāva,* that denote their characteristic nature of being a kind of feeling itself, though they are respectively causes and effects of feeling, not the feeling itself.

It is the obstacles that do not allow us to have a full experience in the world, that deprive us of having a complete empathy with any outside object, that dispossess us of our most valuable possession, the key to all knowledge and creation, the unity of self-consciousness. It is freedom from obstacles that is the differentia of artistic or aesthetic experience. In ordinary experience object is always known as object, never a modification of subject. In artistic experience, object never appears as object, but only as a modification of subject. The veracity of ordinary experience is decided by its correspondence with the objects that exist outside the mind. For the veracity of artistic experience we do not refer to anything outside. Its only test is its capacity to evoke the experience of the eternal infinite self-consciousness, a unity that contains both object and subject, it being the ground of both. Here lies the secret of the difference between the possible and the probable, fact and truth, which according to Aristotle, is the difference between the ordinary and the aesthetic truth. The implict unity of subject and object never reaches a perceptible stage in ordinary experience though the experience itself can never be explained without such a presumption.[74] And the reason is that ordinary experience is always qualified by limitations of space and time. These two limitations always keep the subject separate from the object. If somehow these two limitations are overcome, these two obstacles removed, nature of the experience is completely changed. Many poets and critics have noted such a change. The following from Yeats is more to the point here:

"A person or a landscape that is a part of a story or a portrait evokes but so much emotion as the story or the portrait can permit

74. For an elaborate discussion of how Coleridge and Abhinava reach similar, if not the same, conclusion in this regard see the present author's thesis referred to above.

without loosening the bonds that make it a story or a portrait, but if you liberate a person or a landscape from the bonds of motives and their actions, causes and their effects, and from all bonds but the bonds of love, it will change under your eyes and become a symbol of an infinite emotion, a perfected emotion, a part of the Divine Essence."[75]

And this infinite perfected emotion or feeling, a part of the Divine Essence, is what Indians call *Rasa*. "Freedom from obstacles" is thus the differentia of aesthetic experience says Abhinavagupta. It is important to note that I.A. Richards reaches a similar conclusion about great poetry : "One thing only perhaps is certain : what happens is the exact opposite to a deadlock, for compared to the experience of great poetry every other state of mind is one of bafflement."[76] Those who try to find the key to artistic or aesthetic experience in any objective or subjective qualification miss the secret of artistic experience. Those who say that the objects of artistic experience should be necessarily beautiful, or natural, or should be found only in the works of art or poetry, miss the differentia of art. The history of aesthetics is full of such mistakes made by eminent men. And Abhinava would substantially agree with the criticism of such writers by I.A. Richards in ch. 2 of his *Principles of Literary Criticism*. But he would not agree with Richards in calling an aesthetic state a "phantom." Abhinava would say with Richards that the values of art and the values of life are not completely cut off from each other as writers like Clive Bell have suggested. He would even agree, though in a partial sense only, with Richards's statement that aesthetic experience "is not of a fundamentally different kind" from ordinary experience. Partially, I say, because Abhinava would point out: "Yes, as animals and men are fundamentally the same, but men are something more, they are rational and that differentia of rationality brings a fundamental change. Does it not? If that is not accepted as a fundamental difference, we would say that everything in this universe is

75. Quoted by George Whalley, *Poetic Process*, p. 109.

76. *P.L.C.*, p. 252.

Cp. also Ezra Pound, *Make It New*, p. 336: 'It is the presentation of such a 'complex' instantaneously which gives that sense of sudden liberation; that sense of freedom from time limits and space limits; that sense of sudden growth, which we experience in the presence of the greatest works of art' quoted on p. 76 of the *Poetic Process*.

every other thing, for we can assure you that everything is self-consciousness and nothing else exists. As soon as a *new differentia* is found, the existence of a *new species* of things is bound to be accepted."

What we wish to emphasise first is that the differentia of artistic experience, according to Abhinava, is "freedom from obstacles", and its genus is basic feeling. So Abhinava gets at the most scientific definition ever made of artistic experience or *Rasa*. This is how he defines it. Artistic experience or *Rasa* is "the basic feeling experienced in a delightful manner on account of being free from obstacles."[77] Thus a bare empathy would not do. Simply removing the obstacles as Coleridge's doctrine of the reconciliation of opposites seems to suggest cannot be a correct definition of poetry or art. Coleridge's analysis of removing the obstacles under various concepts of imagination, contemplation, substantial knowledge, is excellent, but he was unable to relate it with feeling. His analysis of the epistemology of the aesthetic experience was his theory of the esemplastic Imagination which was incorrect as I have shown in my book on Colendge and Abhinava. And his essay on the Poetic Passion remained a fragment.[78] He correctly knew the solution of the aesthetic problem when he stated that "to make the reason spread light over our feelings, to make our feelings, with their vital warmth, actualise our reason:—these are my objects, these are my subjects."[79] But he did not succeed in relating his theories of the poetic passion and the poetic imagination. Rather Imagination itself became an obstacle between Reason and feeling. J. A. Appleyard has pointed out that Coleridge left talking of Imagination in his writings after the *Biographia*.[80] Indeed Reason and feeling cannot be related without giving up the unnecessary faculty of Imagination. Aristotle also did not relate his theory of universalization or idealization with his analysis of the psychic states of *ethe, pathe* and *praxeis*. I. A. Richards tried to present a psychological theory of poetry in his *Principles of Literary Criti-*

77. Sarvathā rasanātmaka-vītavighnapratītigrāhyo bhāva eva rasaḥ. *AB*, I. 280.

78. *Inquiring Spirit*, item 52. Ed. Kathleen Coburn.

79. *The Friend*, Introductory Essay 15, p. 65.

80. *Coleridge's Philosophy of Literature*, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965), p. 245.

cism but he tacitly accepted the weakness of his materialistic psychological standpoint by accepting Coleridge's transcendental theory of Imagination, the theory of the reconciliation of opposites, as the best explanation of the essential characteristic of poetic as of all valuable experience.[81] His psychological theory cannot explain either the "balance or equilibrium", the "mental health" which is the effect of art, the "freedom from bafflement" which is the characteristic of artistic or poetic experience according to him.[82] As a matter of fact, the subject and the object of the aesthetic or artistic or poetic experience were never successfully analysed and brought together by any Western scholar consistently and consequently some "nuclear area" remained undefined and a scientific explanation of poetry has not yet been found in the West. But the Indian critics would not agree with Wimsatt when he states that poetry is "indefinable" and that a scientific definition of poetry is not possible.

Abhinava successfully removes the tautology that appears in Bharata's *Rasa-sūtra,* which we may repeat for the sake of convenience.

Vibhavānubhāva-vyabhicāri-saṁyogād Rasa-niṣpattiḥ.

Abhinava's own definition is based on such an explanation of the *Rasa-sūtra* as this: *Rasa-niṣpattiḥ,* 'Rasa is evoked', that is, 'Rasa is something suggested'. This much is the definition and he clarifies this part as 'rasanātmaka-vīta-vighna-pratītigrāhyo bhāvaḥ'; that is, "*Rasa* is basic feeling experienced in a delightful manner on account of its freedom from obstacles". The first part of the compound thus forms no part of the definition of *Rasa.* It mentions, Abhinava points out, those elements that remove the obstacles.

The tautology apparent in the *Rasa-sūtra,* if we take the whole of it as the definition of *Rasa* is this: *Rasa,* the essence of art, is evoked by the proper relation of *vibhāva, anubhāva* and *vyabhicāri-*

81. *P.L.C.,* p. 243.

82. See *P.L.C.,* Ch. 32.

83. *Rasa* and *Dhvani,* that is, Suggestion or Evocation or Symbolism in all its aspects has been the special contribution of Ānandavardhana to poetics His work, *Dhvanyāloka,* and *Locana,* the commentary of Abhinavagupta, are the best works on the science of word and meaning from the poetic point of view.

bhāva, but all these three terms signify 'artistic objects', artistic expressions' and 'artistic transient emotions'. And thus we get only a tautologous or synonymous definition, because the term art, the subject to be defined, is brought in as predicate in the definition.

Abhinava's own definition is scientific as it mentions both the genus and the differentia clearly. Clarifying his statement further he states that in life we mark the varying physical *expressions* denoting the transient, accessory *emotions* at the perception of objects and thus infer the basic *feeling* predominant at a particular time in a particular individual. The same things evoke or suggest *Rasa* in our own heart, if we are oblivious of the limiting factors of space and time and view them in universal manner.

Thus *Rasa* is different from the basic feeling, for it is basic feeling made creative or enjoyable owing to its impregnation with the consciousness.. The statement that the basic feeling is converted transcendental self-consciousness. The statement that the basic feeling is converted into *Rasa* only means that the basic feeling is inferred from the same concomitants as suggest *Rasa*, though it has to be remembered that the concomitants themselves undergo a change in the sense that they shed their particular and temporal nature and are universalized in an extremely concentrated and unified experience, in which each object has something to contribute but in which the main thing is the transcendental super-psychic experience of the basic feeling. It is the basic feeling, *ethos*, not *pathe* or *praxeis*, that is fit for impregnation with the eternal infinite self-consciousness. Again, comprehending a universal predicate is possible by a universal subject only. Ethos or basic feeling is always outside the scope of ordinary experience.

Abhinava points out that the *Rasa-sūtra* does not mention the term *sthāyi-bhāva*, that it would have been a blunder to mention it. And he explains this point in refutation of other critics. He seems to imply that *Rasa* is a new and a better state of *sthāyi-bhāva*, the basic feeling and Bharata was writing about this new and better state of basic feeling and to mention it by the old familiar name of *sthāyi-bhāva* as an object to be defined or to mention it as one of the factors suggesting *Rasa* would have been a mistake.[48]

84. *AB.*, vol. I. p. 284. para 2.

A *sthāyi-bhāva* or a basic feeling is a universal potential psychic state of which we do not have an immediate perception. It can only be inferred by the finite mind. It is always there in the unconscious region and its activity can be inferred from its transient complex forms that are emotions and emotions in their turn can be inferred from their psychophysical expressions. But *Rasa* is not a feeling that remains in the unconscious. It is an experience that lasts only so long as we enjoy it through its excitants, its objective correlatives. In a way, therefore, it is an artificial creation. Some people, though a very few, experience it. Infinite, consciousness alone can experience it and very few people can raise themselves to that high level, for that means rising above all limitations and prejudices.

Rasa is a basic feeling experienced by infinite consciousness. Thus *Rasa* is basic feeling but with a difference, as man is animal but with a difference. Perhaps the analogy does not emphasise the tremendous change between the basic feeling lying in the unconscious (*sthāyi-bhāva*) and the basic feeling experienced (*Rasa*). *Rasa* is an immediate and intimate experience of the basic feeling by the infinite self-consciousness. If even partial rationality made man so much above all animals, the infinite or total self-consciousness or *Rasa* makes him partake something of the divine. The experience is so overwhelming, so unique and so delightful that to have it once is to be haunted for ever. The experience is said to be *Brahmāsvādasahodara,* which means that it has the same origin as the experience of the Divine, *Brahma,* the eternal infinite self-conciousness.

Rasa is the overflow of the powerful basic feeling. The feeling overflows when it becomes powerful. It becomes powerful on account of its impregnation with the infinite, eternal self-consciousness. In ordinary experience we do not get a taste of this overflow, because it is arrested by limitations. Ordinary experience is therefore chaotic. Artistic experience is orderly, cosmic. When we have to deal with an artistic experience through a human medium, a work of art, a poem, a drama, as distinguished from an object of nature, these obstacles, Abhinava points out, become seven-fold. They are hindrances to the manifestation of the infinite eternal self-consciousness and to the intimate immediate experience of the basic feeling.

These obstacles are as follows :

1. The first obstacle is the improbability of description. It is not possible to have empathy with an improbable object.[85]

Aristotle and Coleridge have stated the same idea in different terms. Aristotle says, as we have noted before, that "it is not the function of the poet to relate what has happened, but what may happen, —what is possible according to the law of probability or necessity".[86] Coleridge similarly defines poetic faith as "willing suspension of disbelief for the moment."[87]

Abhinava points out that to remove this obstacle the poet should choose common themes, "some common sorrow, loss or pain, that has been and may be again" in the words of Wordsworth. The Wordsworthian natural style of writing is the easier one in this sense, for the question of disbelieving does not arise if the *vibhāvas*, characters and incidents, are chosen from the common every-day life. In the supernatural Coleridgean style, Abhinava suggests that the poet should choose incidents and characters from famous legends so that readers may easily believe even the impossible things. Coleridge in such a case suggests two things: "a transfer from our inward nature a human interest and a semblance of truth." Perhaps *The Ancient Mariner* and Aristotle's law of probability were too much in his mind when he made such suggestions. Abhinava would point out that the transfer of human interest from our inward nature is a common characteristic of both the styles of writing. Accepting the central thesis that the soul of poetry is repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM and defining poetry as "the excitement of emotion "[88] Coleridge could not have been able to defend himself against Abhinava's criticism.

Creation or enjoyment of art is substantially hampered if the poet fails to make his story probable.

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85. *A.B.*, vol. I. p. 280, para 3.

86. Butcher's translations: *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, p. 35.

87. *B.L.*, vol. II. p. 6.

88. 'On Poesy or Art', *B.L.*, II, 224.

2. Taking the whole artistic presentation as a portrayal of feelings, emotions and expressions, either of one's own or of others, that is, viewing the whole show in its space limits and time limits is the second obstacle. If the presentation be taken as belonging to the spectator, it will raise many thoughts in his mind as to how to protect himself if the situation be dangerous, to conceal himself if it be derogatory, to continue in the same situation if it be pleasant, to leave it if it be unpleasant, and all such thoughts will only distract his mind from the presentation that is going on and consequently a total absorption in it will be impossible. Similarly, if the presentation be supposed to belong to the actors or characters at a particular place and time, the spectator will have a favourable, unfavourable or indifferent attitude according to his nature and according to his relations with the actors and the charaters. If he has friendly relations with the actors, he may be pleased with their happiness and grieved at their sufferings. If they are his enemies he would have just the opposite emotions roused. He would again be indifferent if he is not interested in them at all. And similarly he will be distracted by different sets of emotions according to the respect or disrespect, indifference, for the characters portrayed. Thus howsoever we may try, taking the presentation in their space limits and time limits is bound to rouse some emotions different from those portrayed and a total experience would be a far cry in such a case. To remove this obstacle, Abhinava says that Bharata laid down the rule that indulgence in discursive details of description is to be avoided by the poet. The costly make-up of the actors and actresses is a necessary part of the dramatic show, for it induces us to think of them in their representative characters and we know that they are not real characters. Thus buffetted from both sides mind leaves the business of 'locating' and 'timing' the emotions displayed. The aeroplane's taking off may give some idea of the experience by analogy. The result is that in the universalization of feelings, emotions and expressions, the spectator neither completely includes nor completely excludes himself or others. It appears like soliloquy intermixed with dialogue as Coleridge says. A lack of proper understanding of this aspect of dramatic presentation has been responsible for much confusion in Western criticism regarding *katharsis*.

3. To go to theatre or study preoccupied with one's own pleasures or sorrows is yet another kind of hindrance. Many artistic performances, dramas, recitations of poetry, dances

and the like on festive occasions, where persons are more preoccupied with worldly pleasures thus defeat their own purpose. All the music and spectacular arrangements of theatre have this purpose of taking spectators' minds to the world of the drama by making them forget their private worlds.

4. Similarly, defective means of portrayal—improper words, halting measures, defective acting have to be avoided before one can either create or enjoy poetry.

5. Abhinava, who considers drama as poetry par excellence, considers staging as one of the necessary helps in realization of the *Rasa* experience, for according to him, poetry, howsoever sensuous, does not evoke basic feelings in the minds of ordinary readers without the aid of proper acting. Even for connoisseurs acting is a great help in making the idea clear. Successful acting makes everything clear.

This point has been amply vindicated by the history of English drama and dramatic criticism. Abhinava does not hold the view as is held by some of the Western critics including Coleridge and Eliot about clearness of ideas being no essential feature of artistic experience, the origin of which seems to be in the school of sympathetic imagination in the eighteenth century England.[89]

6. There may be a defect in the arrangement of the objective correlatives. It has to be remembered that transient emotions, psychophysical expressions and physical objects are not and cannot be said to be permanently associated with a particular basic feeling. There is no dearth of poetic material, for infinite number of combinations of these correlatives are possible. In such a case the poet has to make it clear what particular basic feeling he desires to evoke. The same object or situation may evoke different feelings. The fall of evening, for example, rouses different basic feelings in student, lover and ascetic. Drooping eyes denote sorrow, love or meditation. Anxiety is equally associated with love and sorrow, heroism and fear. Hence the poet

89. Cp. Burke's statement: "In reality a great clearness helps but little towards affecting the passions, as it is in some sort an enemy to all enthusiasm whatsoever." See Shrikrishna Mishra: *Pre-Coleridgean Conception of Imagination*, C. M. College Magazine, 1962, pp. 28-9.

should so place the correlatives of *Rasa* as to rouse no doubt in the mind of the reader or the spectator. Otherwise the correlatives will fail to rouse the required basic feeling.

7. If the correlatives do not evoke a basic feeling that also becomes an obstacle. We have impure minds. *Rasa* is a divine experience. Unless the impurity is removed there will be no release of the infinite energy, the essential characteristic of the divine. The basic feeling is conceived as the basic impurity. That has to be purified. Infinite eternal self-consciousness is the only purifiers in this universe. When it impregnates the basic feeling it becomes pure. The emphasis laid by Abhinava and in the present essay is that the basic feeling alone can be turned into *Rasa*. A total experience cannot be had with trivial things or ephemeral emotions as objects, says Abhinava. There can be no total union between finite things. All objects are inanimate and hence trivial, according to Abhinava, and so are emotions that last only for a moment. Abhinava has a poor opinion of ficklеminded people, persons incapable of having a flow of one basic feeling for long. Persons who cannot pine at beauty beyond tomorrow are, according to him, neither fit subjects for long poems, epics and dramas, nor able readers for appreciating them. Like Vedantins, Abhinava considers eternal self-consciousness as Life. Its contact makes things living. Without it they are as good as inanimate; and so are emotions that last only for a moment. Hence till the infinite and timeless feeling is realized there can be no rest, no peace of mind. Who can be satisfied with ephemeral or trivial things, asks Abhinava. Thus to be interested in them only is yet another obstacle to the *Rasa* experience.

Any one of these obstacles is enough to stop the secretion of *Rasa*. The enjoyment of poetry is a bilateral affair and the reader has to meet the poet half-way. The obstacle between two hearts—the hearts of the poet and the reader—is their individuality. The particulars close the door of communication. "The medium by which spirits understand each other is not the surrounding air; but the freedom which they possess in common, as the common ethereal element of their being, the tremulous reciprocations of which propogate themselves even to the inmost of the soul."[90]

90. *B.L.*, vol. I. p. 168.

So says Coleridge; and Abhinava adds that such a communication is possible by developing the capacity of talking with one's own spirit, the universal in oneself.[91] In this act poem as physical fact, as an objective correlative, is a great help. Repeated readings of good literature make the reader's heart clear and pure and he develops the capacity of unifying himself with the objects described.[92] They are important as removers of obstacles to the welling up of the powerful feeling of the reader's heart. Abhinava's *differentia* of art is verified by a modern critic of I. A. Richards's eminence though he does not know its secret as Ahbinava knows it. There is a release of energy from the fountain of the reader's own self-conscious spirit. The poem simply removes the deadlock. This capacity the poem has because it is a product of power, a flow of infinite feeling, because the poet himself created it by talking with the universal in himself. Thus an equation is established among the three factors, the poet, the poem and the reader by reducing them all to their highest common factor, *Rasa*.

Objective correlatives are necessary no doubt, but they do not form part of the definition of poetry. All of them are not necessary to the welling up of *Rasa*. Much depends on the reader or the spectator's capacity to grasp. Sometimes therefore only a *vibhāva*, an object or a person, is enough to manifest it; sometimes only the *anubhāva*, the physical expression of emotions. Sometimes, both of them are portrayed. But it is important to note that for an average reader or spectator all the correlatives are necessary. And indeed when all the correlatives are fully described, *Rasa* overflows best. This is possible in long poems, epics and dramas only.

Rasa as the overflow of powerful infinite basic feeling has its correlates in this finite world and such correlates are both mental and physical. *Vibhāvas* are persons and objects that are stimulants; *anubhāvas*, psychological expressions of feeling and

91. Svahṛdaya-saṁvādabhājaḥ sahṛdayāḥ. *Locana*, p. 38.

92. Yeṣāṁ kāvyānuśīlanābhyāsavaśād viśadībhūte manomukure varṇanīya-tanmayībhavana-yogyatā te svahṛdayasaṁvāda-bhājaḥ sahṛdayāḥ.

This is Abhinavagupta's concept of *sahṛdaya*, the connoisseur of poetry and fine art. *Locana*, p. 38.

emotions are partly mental and partly physical. *Vyabhicāribhāvas,* on the other hand, are mental correlates. All these together evoke *Rasa* almost suddenly. The mental correlates of *Rasa* being transient emotions cannot be depicted or expressed in words directly.[93] It is depicted through either or both of the objective correlatives, They are depicted through either or both of the objective correlatives, namely, *vibhava* and *anubhava*. When either or both of these latter are depicted well, they evoke their mental correlative, the "pieces of feeling" or "transient emotions" and these being ephemeral in nature evoke their basic feeling in its infinite proportions after which there is infinite peace, because nothing more remains to be suggested or evoked. When the basic feeling is impregnated with infinite self-consciousness, it loses its latent sleepy unconscious state and becomes active. It overflows and saturates all its correlates. It is this saturation that brings even the transient emotions, the *vyabhicāribhāvas,* now simply known as *bhāvas,* to the category of the soul or the essence of poetry. Without the saturation of *Rasa* the *vyabhicāribhāva* or the transient emotion cannot get the essential differentia of an art emotion.

When *Rasa* is evoked, it is just possible that some transient emotions may be so attractively portrayed that a reader may linger a while to observe its beauty even in preference to the enjoyment of *Rasa*. But that attraction can never be said to lose touch with the overflowing *Rasa*.[95] This enjoyment of transient emotion is called *Bhāva*—though this word has to be distinguished from any of the three stages of *bhāva* discussed above, which are correlatives and do not fall within the category of the poetic experience. This *bhāva* in all its four varieties corresponding to the four varieties of its correlative *vyabhicāri-bhāva* is mentioned along with *Rasa* as the soul or essence of poetry. Everything else is of secondary importance.[96]

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93. Purvam hyuktam vyabhicāriṇāmapi bhāvatvāt na svaśabdataḥ pratipattirityādi vistarataḥ.

Locana, p. 248.

94. Vibhāvanubhāvacarvaṇaiva vyabhicāricarvaṇāyāṁ paryavasyati.

Locaña, p. 240.

95. Rasadhvanerevāmī bhāvadhvani-prabhṛtayo niṣyandā āsvāde pradhānam prayojakamevāniśaṁ vibhajya pṛthag vyavasthāpyate. *Locana*, p. 179.

See also *Locana*, p. 175.

96. See *Locana*, p. 177 last para.

Just as the concept of *Rasa* is the most correct and comprehensive concept of the poetic content so far known to the world, similarly the concept of *Dhvani* is the last world on poetic expression. *Rasa* is an experience, but the poem is a tangible thing. It consists of words and sentences with meanings. How can we distinguish between a poetic and a non-poetic word? What is the relation between the poetic word and the poetic experience? Even here the analysis of the Indian critic surpasses that of any Western critic. The various types of relations between word and meaning,[97] and the various stages of word[98] have been explained by me elsewhere. Here it will be enough to state that the essential poetic relation between the poetic word and the poetic meaning is that of Suggestion. Word and meaning are in the ultimate analysis two aspects of one reality. Without the supposition of such a unity language cannot be free from the curse of babel. If language is accepted to be a means of meaningful discourse, such a unity has to be accepted. Coleridge supposed the relation between word and meaning as one between focus and mirror. They were two aspects of self-consciousness. But he did not develop the idea. Indian grammarians have a full-fledged philosophy of word and meaning. They say that word, truly speaking, is not the sound that we hear but the impression created by the letter-sounds constituting a word; and the meaning is concept of the object and not the object. Concept is the universal language of makind and the basis of concept is percept, which ultimately and immediately is the infinite I AM, the eternal self-consciousness, rather than the knowledge gained of the material object through contact with the sense-organs. The infinite self-consciousness is the basis of all knowledge and all existence. Thus the whole universe is explained as a unity of word and meaning, consciousness and self.

On the basis of this analysis of word and meaning as a combination of universals the Indian critics base the theory of Suggestion. They point out that the ultimate meaning of a sentence or a combination of sentences can only be the intention of the speaker and this often transcends the conventional meanings of words. This they call the word's power of *Suggesting* a meaning. Feelings and

97. See the present author's article on "The *Locus Classicus* of the Theory of suggestion" in the Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, August, 1945.

98. See Book II, ch. III of my thesis *Coleridge's Concept of Imagination and Abhinavagupta's Concept of Rasa—A Comparative Study.*

emotions always fall in this *ultimate category* of meaning. The utterance of the sentence 'I love you' can hardly be a sure proof of love but pining for the beloved is. And pining can only be suggested by the words and gestures; it cannot be directly expressed.

Thus the relation between the poetic passion and the poetic expression is that of suggestion. Suggestion is the ultimate power of the word, higher than the conventional ones of literal and figurative meanings. Thus poetry is defined as Suggestion. Word and meaning—both suggest. Sometimes the word suggests, and sometimes the meaning. Actually it is a question of predominance, for this much is certain that meaningful words only have the capacity to suggest.

Thus poetry is a peculiar unity of the suggested intuition and the suggestive expression. If poetic meaning, poetic content, in the ultimate analysis is *Rasa*, poetic expression in the ultimate analysis is *Dhvani*. *Rasa-Dhvani* is one integrated concept, and the most scientific definition of poetry.

The confusion or rather lack of distinction between the basic feelings and the transient emotions that continue in Western criticism since the days of Aristotle, because Aristotle did not emphasize the distinction, has been, I think, responsible for not getting the full truth about the essence of poetry and fine art, with the result that even after the magnificent analysis of the unity of self-consciousness as the ground of all existence and knowledge and the principle of recocniliation of opposites discovered by Coleridge, confusion still persists in the West regarding a scientific definition of poetry. The *Principles of Literary Criticism,* an excellent analysis of Richards fails because the author does not believe in the infinite, eternal self-consciousness as the source of all knowledge and creation. Poetry and Fine Arts, the divine Muses, refuse to be wooed by materialists.

I.A. Richards defines a poem in terms of experience. He takes four experiences into consideration: the artist's experience, the experience of an accomplished reader who makes no mistakes, the ideal or perfect reader's possible experience and our own actual experience. He says: "To define the poem as the artist's experience is a better solution. But it will not do as it stands, since nobody but the artist has that experience. We must be more

ingenious. We cannot take any single experience as the poem; we must have a class of more or less similar experiences instead. Let us mean by *Westminster Bridge* not the actual experience which led Wordsworth on a certain morning about a century ago to write what he did, but the class composed of all actual experiences, occasioned by the words, which do not differ within certain limits from that experience. Then anyone who has had one of the experienes comprised in the class, can be said to have read the poem." Thus he gets what he calls "the only workable way of defining a poem, namely, a class of experiences which do not differ in any character more than a certain amount, varying for each character, from a standard experience. We may take as this standard experience the relevant experience of the poet when contemplating the completed composition."[99]

The conclusion arrived at by Dr. I. A. Richards does not satisfy himself and he adds in his footnote: "Difficulties even here arise, eg. the poet may be dissatisfied without reason. Coleridge thought *Kubla Khan* merely 'a psychological curiosity' without poetic merits, and may have been justified in some degree. If he was not, it is his dream experience which we should presumably have to take as our standard".[100]

In our exposition of Abhinavagupta's definition of a poem in its essential aspect, which is also Richards's concern here, we have seen that an equation is established among the three factors, the poet, the poem and the reader by reducing all of them to their highest common factor, *Rasa*, which, as we have shown, is the infinite basic feeling with its particular correlates intermixed and subdued in it and all impregnated with infinite self-consciousness. The emphasis on the common factor among the poet, the poem, and the reader is most important. Without this communication is an impossibility. Just as communication in the ordinary way is impossible without a common reference in the outside world, so is poetic communication a meaningless attempt to translate one's experiences for others, if there be no common ground of feeling. I think the one great thing that Coleridge achieved for poetry and criticism is to remove the Kantian scepticism about knowledge, and

99. *Principles of Literary Criticism*, pp. 226-7.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 227. fn.

to show that infinite and eternal self-consciousness is equally the ground of existence and knowledge, that brings certainty to knowledge. I.A. Richards like T.S. Eliot neglects this great discovery and many others follow them. Richards's definition of a poem shows a sceptical view of knowledge and communication. It is irrelevant for our purpose that very few minds can touch this common ground of experience. It is also irrelevant to say that after the experience of this common ground the unity of the subject with the object of experience is over, and what the reader says in appreciation does not refer to the poet's experience as such but to his own. What we after Abhinavagupta emphasize is that a common ground of experience exists; that the reader who is incapable of reaching it does not appreciate the poem properly; that the sceptical view of poetry cannot explain that most essential characteristic, the differentia, of the poetic experience of its being free from bafflement, of which even Richards is certain; that the unique nature of poetic experience cannot be explained in terms of inference, analogy, or any kind of ordinary or extraordinary perception other than itself; that its uniqueness consists in making a common basic feeling impregnated or electrified with the eternal infinite self-consciousness, which is the same in all of us. It is this *one* principle that can explain knowledge, its certainty, the joy and universality of the poetic experience and communication. Abhinava's definition of poetry as the "basic feeling experienced in a delightful manner on account of being free from obstacles" is a far better definition of poetry for it explains communication easily. The analysis of Richards makes communication a doubtful affair. D. G. James, a rather harsh critic of I. A. Richards makes a similar mistake of coming to a sceptical view of poetry by interpreting Coleridge in terms of Kant in *Scepticism and Poetry*. Coleridge agrees in toto with the analysis of Abhinavagupta as I have interpreted him here. Compare his remarks in the "Fragment of an Essay on Taste":

"The great question, therefore, whether taste in any one of the fine arts has any fixed principle or ideal, will find its solution in the ascertainment of two facts :— first, whether in every determination of the taste concerning any work of the fine arts, the individual does not, with or even against the approbation of his general judgement, involuntarily claim that all other minds ought to think and feel the same; whether the common expressions, "I daresay I may be wrong, but that is my particular taste", are uttered as an offering of courtesy, as a sacrifice to the undoubted fact of our individual

fallibility, or are spoken with perfect sincerity, not only of the reason, but of the whole feeling, with the same entireness of mind and heart, with which we concede a right to every person to differ from another in his preference of bodily tastes and flavours. If we should find ourselves compelled to deny this, and to admit that, notwithstanding the consciousness of our liability to error, and in spite of all those many individual experiences which may have strengthened the consciousness, each man does at the moment so far legislate for all men, as to believe of necessity that he is either right or wrong, and that if it be right for him, it is universally right, —we must then proceed to ascertain :—secondly, whether the source of these phenomena is at all to be found in those parts of our nature, in which each intellect is representative of all—and whether wholly or partially. No person of common reflection demands even in feeling, that what tastes pleasant to him ought to produce the same effect on all living beings; but every man does and must expect and demand the universal acquiescence of all intelligent beings in every conviction of his understanding."[101]

Emphasising the common ground of knowledge, the universal which is potentially in each particular, which is free from the limitations of time, space and individual prejudices,[102] Abhinava says that the meaning of a poem is multifold. But the reason is that the reader's ecstatic experience of the poem may vary in degrees of intension.[103] Moreover, after the ecstatic experience is over, the reader may take some aspect of the poem which the poet might have never thought of, for the universal *Rasa,* the suggested or symbolical meaning of the poem, is capable of being variegated by individual experience. But it is always necessary to keep close to the poem, the universal common ground of experience, or else there may be an indulgence in critical aberrations against which Eliot has warned.[104]

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101. *B.L.,* II. 248–9.

102. Desakalapramatrbhedaniyantrito Rasah. *AB,* vol. I. p. 291.

103. Tasya hrdayasamvadataratamyapeksaya srotrpratipatr-sphuranam sphutasphutatvena ativicitram. *AB,* vol. I. p. 291.

104. *Selected Prose,* p. 104, para 1.

AYODHYĀ STONE–INSCRIPTION OF DHANADEVA

By SADHU RAM*

This inscription is engraved on a flat stone-slab found at the foot of the eastern entrance of the *samādhi* of Bābā Sangat Baksh, said to have been built during the reign of Nawāb Shujā-ud-Daulāh. "The shrine with the connected building is situated in the western portion of a large walled enclosure known as Ranopali about a mile distant from the town of Ayodhyā on the road leading to Fyzābād."[1]

Although, as a record, the inscription is rather too brief, yet it has a twofold historical importance. First, it offers a specimen of the later Śuṅga script; and secondly, it clearly shows that in the sixth generation after Puṣyamitra, the seeds of dissension were well sprouting up in the royal family, and the various members of the dynasty were becoming eager to carve out independent principalities for themselves.

This is, indeed, one of the few early inscriptions recorded in Sanskrit, and is engraved in the Brāhmī script, the characters showing considerable resemblance with those of the records of the Northern Kṣatrapas and some archaic votive inscriptions from Mathurā. There are three important phenomena to be observed:

(i) shortening of the verticles, except in the case of *'la'* (⅃)

(ii) the tendency towards using top-marks, and (iii) the thickening of the tops which is the inchoative stage of the later nail-headed variety. This is, in fact, a development on the just preceding Mauryan script, and thus serves as a key to the understanding of the gradual course of evolution of the Indian alphabet. The curvilinear forms of certain letters have, however, changed to angular ones, e.g.,

Σ (ज), ↄ (द), ⊔ (प), ⨯ (म), ⅃ (ल) —

from Aśokan ε, ↄ, ⋃, 8, ⅃

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1. *Epigraphic Indica*, XX. p. 54.

Palaeographically, this period is one of transition. There are marked changes observable in other letters like *'pa, sa, ṣa, ka,'* etc. Generally, it takes about three centuries to bring about such radical change in the character of a script, but during the intermediate period, only a gradual change is to be seen as in the present inscription. The equalization of the upper verticals of consonants except that of *'la'*, and the constant use of the angular form of *'ja, pa, ma, la, sa, ṣa'* show beyond doubt that the record cannot be much later than the first century B.C.

TEXT

१ कोसलाधिपेन द्विरश्वमेध-यजिनः सेनापतेः पुष्यमित्रस्य षष्ठेन कौशिकी-पुत्रेण धन[देवेन?]

२, धर्म-राज्ञा (धर्म-राजेन) पितुः फल्गुदेवस्य केतनं कारितं [।।*]

TRANSLATION

By the son of Kauśikī, the virtuous king Dhanadeva, the overlord of Kosala, the sixth in descent from *Senāpati* Puṣyamitra who was the performer of two horse-sacrifices, the sepulchral monument was caused to be erected here for his father Phalgudeva.

NOTES

1. द्विरश्वमेध-याजिनः (line 1)—That *Senāpati* Puṣyamitra did actually perform horse-sacrifices, is testified by literary sources too, such as the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali[2] and *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa.[3]

2. सेनापतेः (line 1)—In *Mālavikāgnimitra* also, Puṣyamitra is alluded to as *Senāpati,* a rank which he held under the Mauryas during the reign of Bṛhadratha, the last king of the Maurya dynasty whom he murdered in order to usurp the throne. This title seems to have been quite popular and also dear to Puṣyamitra, for he continued to bear it even after his accession. This title was later borne also by one Bhaṭārkka, the founder of the house of the Maitrakas.[4]

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2. On Pānini, III. 2. 111; *Vārttika,* 1.

3. Act V, *Praveśaka, "Senāpatinā yajña-turaṅga-rakṣaṇe niyukto bhartṛdārako Vasumitra iti."*

4. *Indian Antiquary,* VI, p. 9.

3. पुष्यमित्रस्य (line 1)—This inscription conclusively proves that the name of the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty was Puṣyamitra. This evidence is certainly more reliable than that of some later Sanskrit works who call him Puṣpamitra.

4. षष्ठेन (line 1)—The expression *Senāpateḥ Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena,* which refers to Dhanadeva, has given rise to a keen controversy, and various interpretations have been offered by scholars. Ordinarily, where a genealogical descent is expressed, it is the ablative which is employed; and, accordingly, there should have been the expression *Puṣyamitrāt.* If, however, we reject the sense as proposed in the above translation, and take the genitive in its literal sense, as Pt. Ratnākara has done, to mean 'the sixth descendant, brother, or son, of Puṣyamitra, then in the sense of a 'son', we will face a difficulty. If Dhanadeva be the sixth son of Puṣyamitra, what would be the position of Phalgudeva, or what again would be the sense of *pituḥ,* and to whom it would refer? Obviously, therefore in that case, Phalgudeva would be identical with Puṣyamitra, which is absurd. In order to overcome this difficulty, the Pandit proposed the insertion of some such word as *pūjyasya* between *pituḥ* and *Phalgudevasya,* and rendered the expression as 'in honour of Phalgudeva, the revered teacher or deity of his father.' K. P. Jayaswal at first took Dhanadeva to be the sixth brother of Puṣyamitra, and made Phalgudeva the father of Puṣyamitra. But, in a third article on this inscription, he changed his view and considered Dhanadeva to be the sixth son of Puṣyamitra and, in order to avoid the identity of Phalgudeva with Puṣyamitra, he amended *dharma-rājñā* in the beginning of the second line to *dharma-rājñyāḥ,* the genitive form of *dharmarājñī* with an inadvertant omission of the *visarga.* In this way, he rendered the expression as 'Dhanadeva, the sixth son of Puṣyamitra, erected the house in honour of Phalgudeva, the father of his lawful queen.' Thus, Phalgudeva, in his opinion, was the father-in-law of Dhanadeva. But this amendment seems to be strained and untenable.

Prof. A. Banerji Shastri endorsed the first view of Jayaswal. He rejected the descent-theory, because he thought that if Phalgudeva was indeed the sixth in descent from Puṣyamitra, and if, what is but obvious, he were proud of it, his name would also have ended in *-mitra.* This, however, as Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has pointed out, is not a very cogent reasoning, because the names of

many Śuṅga kings, as found in the Purāṇas and on the coins, show a variety of name-ending. Prof. Banerji Shastri lays special emphasis on the fact that in the *Smṛtis* a 'descent' proper is signified by the ablative case and not by the genitive as here. But Shri N. G. Majumdar has drawn our attention to a parallel expression in the *Raghuvaṁśa*,[5] viz., *pañcamaṁ takṣakasya,* which the commentators interpret as meaning 'grandson of the grandson of Takṣaka,' i.e., the fifth in descent from him. Majumdar, therefore, sees no difficulty in the interpretation of *Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhaḥ* as 'sixth in descent from Puṣyamitra. Jayaswal, however, points out that the above example from *Raghuvaṁśa* is really taken by Mallinātha as meaning the fifth son of Takṣaka. R. B. Dayaram Sahni, in order to avoid the difficulty presented by the genitive case, agrees with the view of Pt. Ratnākara that some such word like *puruṣeṇa* must be supplied after *ṣaṣṭhena,* and translates the relevant phrase as 'by the sixth descendant of Puṣyamitra'. The 'descent-theory' is also endorsed by MM. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha. In the opinion of Dr. D. C. Sircar, this interpretation is supported by the palaeography of the record, irrespective of Dhanadeva's descent from the paternal or maternal side.[6] He sees in it the influence of Prākrit.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

From Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita,* we know that the Śuṅga king Sumitra, who was very fond of music and dancing, was killed by Mūladeva while enjoying a concert. This Mūladeva is probably the same king whose coins have been found at Ayodhyā, and who is one of the predecessors of Dhanadeva, the lord of Kosala of this inscription. After assassinating Sumitra, Mūladeva must have declared himself as an independent ruler of Kosala and founded the royal house to which king Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva, Dhanadeva, Śivadatta and Naradatta belonged. Apart from numismatic evidence, no other reference to these six kings occurs elsewhere. The fact that their coins have been found at Ayodhyā, the capital of Kosala, does not in itself prove sufficient for assigning to them any chronological sequence. We cannot conclude from this fact for certain that Dhanadeva's rule extended over that

5. Canto 16. v. 88.
6. *Select Inscriptions,* 1st ed., p. 96, fn. 3.

region, as coins are usually carried by travellers and traders to places far away from the country of their origin.

With the defection of Kosala, several erstwhile governors of scions of the Śuṅga family shook off their allegiance to the Śuṅga suzerainty and founded independent lines of rulers in Pañcāla, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā. To assert their independence, they minted their own currency. Śuṅga empire was thus reduced to the territories of Magadha and Central India, and its hold over the regions west of Magadha was undoubtedly lost.

According to Prof. Jagan Nath, since four generations intervened between Puṣyamitra and Dhanadeva, the latter may be placed somewhere near 68 B.C. This date, he says, is quite in accord with the period indicated by the script of his coins.

As the date of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga is genarally accepted to be *c.* 187 to 151 B.C., then, allowing an average period of 20 years for each generation, we come to 71 B.C. as the approximate time for Dhanadeva which, more or less, agrees with that proposed by Prof. Jagan Nath.

The inscription records the building of a *ketana* or sepulchral monument by Dhanadeva dedicated to his father Phalgudeva or, according to Dr. D. C. Sircar, "a building for the accommodation of the image of the deceased; of a structure or pillar on the cremation ground in memory of his father."[7] The inscription is also important in that it adds a new name, Phalgudeva, to the list of kings of Kosala known to us from the coins only.

7. *Sel. Ins.*, 1st ed., p. fn. 6.

यादव : आभीर (अहीर) अथवा क्षत्रिय ? —एक पौराणिक अनुशीलन

डा० राजेन्द्र मिश्र*

वर्तमान भारत में ब्राह्मण एवं क्षत्रिय आदि की ही भाँति अपने को 'यादव' कहने वाला एक विशिष्ट जनसमुदाय है। किन्तु ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से विचार करने पर हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचते हैं कि आज की यह यादव जनजाति उस रूप में नहीं रह गई है जिस रूप में इसका उद्‌भव हुआ था। महाभारत युग से लेकर १९वीं शती तक इसमें इतने परिवर्तन एवं मिश्रण होते रहे कि इसका रूप ही विकृत हो गया। द्वापर-युग की एक ऐतिहासिक घटना ने इसका स्वरूप और भी जटिल बना दिया जिसे हम 'कृष्णचरित' के रूप में जानते हैं। आभीर यादवों की समकालीन जाति रही है। महाभारतयुग में आभीरों की कृषि-सम्पदा पराकाष्ठा पर थी, परन्तु वे यादवों से हर माने में पृथक् थे। आज हम इन्हीं दोनों वर्गों को एक मानते हैं। परन्तु क्यों ?

सही बात तो यह है कि यादव एवं आभीर दोनों दो पृथक् जातियाँ हैं और दोनों का अपना-अपना अलग इतिहास है। यादवों का अभ्युदय कब हो गया था ? इसके विषय में कुछ स्पष्टतः न कहा ही जा सकता है और न उसकी कोई कालसीमा ही निर्धारित की जा सकती है। फिर भी इसकी प्राचीनता निस्सन्दिग्ध है क्योंकि यदुवंश के प्रवर्तक महाराज यदु, चन्द्रवंशी सम्राट् पुरूरवा के प्रपौत्र राजा ययाति के सबसे बड़े पुत्र थे। इस प्रकार मूल पुरुष चन्द्रमा को लेकर, उनकी सातवीं पीढ़ी में यदु का अवतरण हुआ। पुरूरवा एवं उर्वशी (उनकी सम्राज्ञी) तो ऋग्वैदिक वाङ्मय के पात्र होने के कारण ऋग्वेद जैसे ही प्राचीन हुए। और ऋग्वेद का समय तिलक एवं जैकोबी आदि विद्वानों के अनुसार यदि ई० पू० लाख वर्ष के समीप न भी माना जाय तो मैकडानेल एवं मैक्समूलर जैसे आधुनिक मान्यताप्राप्त विद्वानों के अनुसार कम से कम एक डेढ़ हजार वर्ष ईसापूर्व तो है ही। अब पुरूरवा के ही आधार पर यादवों की प्राचीनता कल्पित की जा सकती है।

डॉ० दिनेशचन्द्र सरकार (हिस्ट्री आफ इण्डियन पीपुल्स, भाग दो पृ० २२०) जैसे कुछ प्रसिद्ध इतिहासविदों के कुछ अविश्वसनीय साक्ष्यों के आधार पर आभीरों को अब तक विदेशी ही माना गया है। वैसे हूणों एवं कुशाणों की भाँति, राजवंशीय

* प्रवक्ता, संस्कृत विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय।



स्थिति तक न पहुँच पाने के कारण आभीरों का अपना कोई व्यक्तिगत इतिहास न बन सका और न उनके वैभव की कथा ही सबको ज्ञात हो सकी तथापि इतना तो स्पष्ट ही है कि महाभारत काल तक आभीरगण भारत के मूल निवासी हो चुके थे, साथ ही साथ सभ्य एवं समुन्नत थे। आभीर क्षत्रिय थे अथवा नहीं, इसका कोई सबल एवं निष्पक्ष प्रमाण नहीं प्राप्त है। परन्तु यदि कनिष्क प्रभृति कुषाण-नरेश अथवा चन्द्रगुप्तप्रभृति मौर्य सम्राट् अपने को क्षत्रिय मानकर एक स्वतन्त्र राजवंश और वह भी 'क्षत्रिय-राजवंश' की स्थापना कर सकते हैं, तो लेखक की धारणा है कि आभीर भी क्षत्रिय कोटि में ही आने योग्य हैं, भले ही वे साक्षात् रूप में सूर्य अथवा चन्द्रवंश से सम्बद्ध नहीं हैं। आइये यह विचार करें कि यादव एवं आभीर मूलतः थे कौन ? और कैसे, क्यों और कब आभीर तथा यादव जाति का पार्थक्य मिट गया जिसके फलस्वरूप दोनों पृथक् जातियाँ आज एक हो गई हैं ?

यादव कौन हैं ?

जैसा कि ऊपर संकेत किया जा चुका है यादवों के आदि-प्रवर्तक महाराज यदु हैं। जैसे सूर्यवंशी सम्राट् रघु के वंशज 'राघव' पुरु के वंशज 'पौरव,' तथा मधु से उत्पन्न (निर्मित) पदार्थ 'माधव' कहे जाते हैं, ठीक उसी प्रकार यदु के वंशज 'यादव' कहे गये। यदु शब्द में अण्[1] प्रत्यय लगाने पर 'यादव' शब्द की सिद्धि होती है। चूँकि यह प्रत्यय वंशानुक्रम अर्थात् अपत्याधिकार (पुत्रभाव) के ही अर्थ में प्रयुक्त होता है अतएव सिद्ध है कि यादव लोग किसी यदु की ही सन्तान थे। श्रीमद्भागवत के नवम स्कन्ध में (अध्याय १९-२४ तक) तथा महाभारत के आदिपर्व में (अध्याय ७५-९३ तक गीता प्रेस सं०) चन्द्रवंशी नरेश ययाति तथा उनके ज्येष्ठ राजकुमार यदु की कथा का सविस्तर वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। इन ग्रन्थों के आधार पर, यदु के विषय में यहाँ कुछ संक्षिप्त सूचना दी जा रही है।

"चन्द्रमा ने अपने गुरु बृहस्पति की पत्नी एवं अपनी प्रेमिका तारा के गर्भ से एक तेजस्वी सन्तान पैदा की। भयङ्कर देवासुर-संग्राम (क्योंकि राक्षसों ने चन्द्रमा का पक्ष लिया) के पश्चात् तारा के ही प्रामाण्य पर, भगवान् प्रजापति ने यह पुत्र चन्द्रमा को तथा क्षेत्र (तारा) बृहस्पति को दे दिया। चन्द्रदेव का यही तेजस्वी राजकुमार बुध आगे चलकर एक स्वतन्त्र साम्राज्य का अधिकारी हुआ। उसने सूर्यवंशी कन्या इला से विवाह करके उसके गर्भ से 'ऐलेय' नामक एक देवोपम पुत्र प्राप्त किया। ऐलेय को ही प्राचीन इतिहास ग्रन्थों (पुराणों) में पुरूरवस् भी कहा गया है। पुरूरवा चक्रवर्ती सम्राट् हुआ। इसकी राजधानी प्रतिष्ठानपुर (आधुनिक झूँसी) यमुना-गंगा के संगम-स्थल से थोड़ी पूर्व, ठीक गङ्गा के किनारे थी। प्रयाग के समीप, गंगा के उस पार विद्यमान झूँसी के भग्नावशेष अब भी उसी नगर के गौरव का गान कर रहे हैं।

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१. ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च ।४।१।११४ (अष्टाध्यायी)

पुरूरवा ने सुरसुन्दरी उर्वशी का वरण करके 'आयु' नामक पुत्र प्राप्त किया। महाराज नहुष, जो कि त्वष्टा द्वारा इन्द्र के साम्राज्यच्युत कर दिये जाने पर, कुछ काल के लिये देवताओं एवं ऋषियों द्वारा इन्द्रपद पर भी अभिषिक्त किये गये तथा कालान्तर में इन्द्राणी के प्रति कामुकभाव बर्तने के कारण, सप्तर्षियों द्वारा शापित होकर अपने ही अपराध से सर्पयोनि को प्राप्त हुए, इन्हीं नरेश आयु के पुत्र थे। नहुष के पश्चात ययाति भारतभूमि के सम्राट् हुए। चन्द्रवंश का यह ऐतिह्य अत्यन्त गौरवमय है।

राजा ययाति का विवाह दैत्यगुरु शुक्राचार्य की एकमात्र लाडली कन्या देवयानी से हुआ। 'ब्राह्मण बालिका देवयानी से क्षत्रिय ययाति का प्रतिलोम विवाह क्यों हुआ' इस रहस्य को पाठकों पर छोड़ दिया जा रहा है। वे स्वयं श्रीमद्भागवत अथवा महाभारत पढ़कर इसे जान सकते हैं। अस्तु, शुक्र ने अपनी पुत्री का विवाह ययाति से केवल इस शर्त पर किया था कि वे उसे कभी भी कोई क्लेश न देंगे। साथ ही साथ दासी रूप में, केवल सेवा-निमित्त दी गई, अपने शिष्य दैत्याधिराज़ वृषपर्वा की सुन्दरी कन्या शर्मिष्ठा से कभी यौन-सम्बन्ध न रक्खेंगे। महाराज ययाति ने महर्षि की आज्ञा का तन-मन से पालन किया फिर भी ऋतुराज वसन्त की एक मनोरम सन्ध्या में उपवन-सञ्चरण करते समय राक्षसराज की अप्सरा जैसी सुन्दरी कन्या शर्मिष्ठा ने एकान्त में जब उनसे अपने प्रणय की भीख माँगी तो युवा सम्राट् संयमित न रह सके। बन्धन टूट गया, देवयानी को दो पुत्र हुए--यदु तथा तुर्वसु। इसी प्रकार शर्मिष्ठा को तीन पुत्र हुए--अनु, द्रुह्यु एवं पूरु।

यह रहस्य ज्ञात होते ही देवयानी आगबबूला हो गई तथा मनाने के लिये पादावनत होने पर भी, सम्राट् को तिरस्कृत करके तपोधन पिता के पास जा पहुँची। लाडली पुत्री का मनस्ताप एवं अधर्मी राजा का दुर्विनय देखकर महाकाल भार्गव शुक्र की कनीनिका लाल हो उठी और सामने खड़े राजा को उन्होंने तत्काल वृद्ध हो जाने का शाप दिया। किन्तु बाद में जब ययाति ने सांसारिक भोगों से अतृप्त रह जाने के कारण अपने परलोक बिगड़ जाने की बात कह कर, महर्षि से शापमोचन का उपाय पूछा तो शुक्र ने सदयभाव से कहा कि राजा अपने किसी भी पुत्र की युवावस्था माँग कर अपनी इच्छायें पूरी कर सकते हैं। राजा के सामने अब कठिन समस्या थी क्योंकि कोई व्यक्ति अकालवृद्ध होना पसन्द नहीं करता। हुआ भी यही, उनके लाख समझाने पर भी सबसे छोटे पुत्र पूरु को छोड़ कर अन्य चारों राजकुमारों में से किसी ने भी कामी पिता को अपना यौवन नहीं दिया। ययाति ने उन चारों को ही (देवयानी के दोनों पुत्रों तथा शर्मिष्ठा के दोनों राजकुमारों) घोर शाप दिया कि (ज्येष्ठ होने के कारण) राज्याधिकारी होने पर भी न तो वे और न उनके वंशज ही कभी राजसिंहासन पर बैठ सकेंगे।

यत् त्वं मे हृदयाज्जातो वयः स्वं न प्रयच्छसि।
तस्मादराज्यभाक् तात प्रजा तव भविष्यति॥—महा० आदि० ८४।९

इस प्रकार कनिष्ठ पुत्र पूरु को ही ययाति ने अपना युवराज एव भावी सम्राट् घोषित कर दिया। उनके अन्य चारों पुत्र भारतभूमि पर ही छिटक कर जीविकोपार्जन करने लगे।

यादवों एवं पौरवों का विकास

ययाति के साम्राज्यच्युत चारों पुत्रों में ज्येष्ठ यदु ही सर्वाधिक तेजस्वी, क्षत्रियोचित गुणों से युक्त, प्रजाभक्त एवं धर्मप्राण थे। पिता के शाप को ओढ़ कर यद्यपि उन्होंने छोटे भाई पूरु के प्रति न कोई अनुचित व्यवहार और न ही कोई विद्रोह किया, जो कि वे आसानी से कर सकते थे। फिर भी उनका वंशवृक्ष निरन्तर पल्लवित-पुष्पित होता रहा। तुर्वसु अनु एवं द्रुह्यु का तो परवर्ती इतिहास बड़ा अन्धकारमय रहा। क्योंकि न तो उनके वंश में कोई प्रख्यात व्यक्ति ही पैदा हुआ और न उनका यश ही भारत में फैला। किन्तु ज्येष्ठ यदु एवं कनिष्ठ पूरु का वंश तो महाभारत काल तक अपनी उन्नति-पराकाष्ठा पर आ पहुँचा, और यथाकथञ्चित् उनकी वंशशाखाएँ महात्मा बुद्ध के युग तक अक्षुण्ण रहीं, क्योंकि वत्सराज उदयन पूरु के ही वंश में उत्पन्न एक वीर नरेश था।

पूरु के वंशज 'पौरव' कहे गये।[1] महाकवि कालिदास की शकुन्तला कामाग्नि-सन्तप्त नरेश दुष्यन्त की अधीरता पर उन्हें डाँटती है--**'पौरव रक्ष विनयम्'**। यह सम्बोधन राजा के पूरुवंशी होने का ही प्रवल प्रमाण है। इसी प्रकार यदु के वंशज 'यादव' हुए। महाभारत युग में, पूरुवंश की अन्तिम कड़ी में पाँचों पाण्डव तथा धृतराष्ट्र के सौ पुत्र थे तथा यदुवंश की अन्तिम कड़ी में स्वयं भगवान् कृष्ण थे। वैसे एक ही पिता (ययाति) से संवर्धित ये दोनों वंश बाद तक भी चलते रहे। पूरु के ही वंश में आगे चलकर मतिनार-दुष्यन्त एवं भरत पैदा हुए। लगातार बारह वर्ष तक यज्ञ करने वाले प्रतापी नरेश सुहोत्र तथा उनके वंशज अजमीढ़, ऋक्ष एवं जह्नु इसी वंश में हुए। ऋक्ष के ही पुत्र राजा संवरण ने भगवान् सूर्य की कन्या तपती से विवाह करके बालक 'कुरु' को पैदा किया। इसी कुरु के माहात्म्यवश चन्द्रवंशी नरेश 'कौरव' कहे गये। सुहोत्र के पुत्र महाराज हस्ती थे जिन्होंने हस्तिनापुर (आधुनिक दिल्ली) बसाया—**सुहोत्रः खल्विक्षाकुकन्यामुपयेमे सुवर्णां नाम। तस्यामस्य जज्ञे हस्ती य इदं हास्तिनपुरं स्थापयामास। एतदस्य हास्तिनपुरत्वम्।—महा० आदि। ९५।३४**

ठीक इसी प्रकार यदु के वंश में भी एक से एक प्रतापी महापुरुष पैदा हुए। श्रीमद्भागवत में (स्कन्ध ९, अध्याय २३-२४) इसका यथातथ्येन निरूपण किया गया है। वस्तुतः यदु एवं पूरु के युग से लेकर महाभारत युद्ध तक का मध्यान्तर कितने वर्षों का रहा, इसे ठीक-ठीक बताया नहीं जा सकता। फिर भी उनकी वंशावलियों को देखने से स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि यह युगयात्रा कई हजार वर्षों की रही होगी। यदु के प्रपौत्र 'हैहय' थे जिनके कारण यादवों को 'हैहयवंशी' भी कहा गया है। हैहय के

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१. पूरोरण् वक्तव्यः (वार्तिक) पौरवः।

वृद्धप्रपौत्र (अर्थात् पाँचवीं पीढ़ी में) कृतवीर्य थे जिनका पुत्र कार्तवीर्य अर्जुन था। नर्मदा नदी के तट पर इसी प्रचण्ड बली ने माहिष्मतीपुरी बसाई थी और स्वयं भगवान् ने 'दत्तात्रेय' अवतार लेकर इसी को योग का उपदेश दिया था। श्रीमद्भागवत तो यहाँ तक कहता है कि--

न नूनं कार्तवीर्यस्य गतिं यास्यन्ति पार्थिवाः ।
यज्ञदानतपोयोगश्रुतवीर्यजयादिभिः ॥ श्रीमद्० ९।२३।२५

कार्तवीर्य के एक सहस्र पुत्रों में केवल पाँच ही प्रतापी हुए—जयध्वज, शूरसेन, वृषभ, मधु एवं ऊर्जित। शूरसेन ने अपने बाहुबल से एक विशाल साम्राज्य स्थापित किया जिसे इतिहास में 'शौरसेन प्रदेश' कहा गया। इसकी राजधानी सब दिन मथुरा रही। यहाँ की भाषा भी संस्कृत से भिन्न एक लोकभाषा के रूप में परिवर्धित हुई जिसे संस्कृत भाषाविदों ने 'शौरसेनी प्राकृत' की संज्ञा दी। एक बात स्पष्ट कर देनी आवश्यक है कि यादवों ने पिता के शापवश केवल सिंहासन नहीं स्वीकार किया किन्तु उन्होंने साम्राज्य स्थापना एवं प्रजापालन में कोई कसर नहीं उठा रखी। एक प्रकार से उन्होंने प्रजा के प्रतिनिधि रूप में शासन किया। शूरसेन के ही वंश में उत्पन्न होने के कारण कुन्ती को शौरसेनी एवं मधुवंशी होने के ही कारण कृष्ण को 'माधव' संज्ञा मिली। मधु के प्रतापी पुत्र वृष्णि हुए जिसके कारण यादवों को 'वार्ष्णेय' भी कहा गया। इसी प्रकार महायोगी शशबिन्दु, सात्वत, अन्धक, भोज, शिनि, सात्यकि, युयुधान आहुक, देवक, उग्रसेन एवं अन्यान्य सहस्रों महापुरुष यदुवंश की ही विभिन्न शाखाओं में पैदा हुए। महाभारत काल में शूरसेन वंश में अन्तिम नरेश वसुदेव थे जिनकी पत्नी देवकी के गर्भ से कृष्ण पैदा हुए। इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि यदु एवं पूरु के वंश में उत्पन्न मूलतः यादव एवं पौरव ही, अपने वंश में उत्पन्न अन्य प्रतापी नरेशों के कारण, अन्यान्य नामों से भी पुकारे जाने लगे। अतः जैसे पौरव, भारत, कौरव एवं पाण्डव शब्दों में मूलतः कोई भेद नहीं, ठीक उसी प्रकार यादव, हैहय शौरसेन, माधव, वार्ष्णेय, अन्धक, भोज एवं शैनेय शब्दों में भी मूलतः कोई भेद नहीं—माधवा वृष्णयो राजन् यादवाश्चेति संज्ञिताः ॥श्रीमद्भागवत०॥ सबके सब एक ही व्यक्ति से उत्पन्न हुए हैं। पौराणिक साक्ष्यों से यह भी ज्ञात होता है कि यादवों एवं पौरवों में सब दिन अत्यन्त प्रेमभाव तथा वैवाहिक-सम्बन्ध भी रहा। यादववंशीया कुन्ती (शौरसेन) महाराज पाण्डु से तथा सुभद्रा (कृष्ण की बहन) अर्जुन से ब्याही गई थी। इतना ही नहीं प्रत्युत यादवों की ही दो शाखाओं—भोज एवं अन्धक में वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध रहे, जिसका कि प्रमाण महाभारत प्रभृति ग्रन्थों में प्राप्त होता है। सम्भवतः अब यादवों की परम्परा हमारे समक्ष अपने स्पष्ट रूप में है।

आभीरों के विषय में ऐतिहासिक साक्ष्य

राजशक्ति के रूप में अब आभीरों पर भी थोड़ा विचार कर लेना आवश्यक है। इस प्रसंग में, ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से देखने पर 'आभीर' शकक्षत्रप रुद्रदामन् के

समकालिक अथवा परवर्ती सिद्ध होते हैं। मौर्य साम्राज्य की स्थापना से पूर्व होने वाले सिकन्दर महान् का आक्रमण प्रतिरुद्ध करने के ध्येय से जो भारतीय राजवंश एकत्र हुए थे और जिनके साहस तथा शौर्य की अयाचित प्रशस्ति यूनानी इतिहासकारों ने भी गाई है उनमें आभीरों का उल्लेख नहीं प्राप्त होता। पुष्कलावती के युद्ध में अश्वकों ने (ग्रीक 'अस्सकनोई') तथा तक्षशिला के युद्ध में वीर पुरु ने अलक्षेन्द्र से मोर्चा लिया। प्रसिद्ध इतिहासकार आर० सी० मजूमदार के प्रामाण्यानुसार जब अलक्षेन्द्र ने पुरु का राज्य लौटा दिया तब उस समय उसमें पन्द्रह गणतन्त्र राज्य थे, पाँच हजार नगर एवं असंख्य ग्राम थे। इस सन्धि के बाद ही उसे व्यास नदी के तट पर कठों से (यूनानी Kathaioi) पुनः युद्ध करना पड़ा जिसमें कुल सत्रह हजार व्यक्ति मारे गए और सत्तर हजार गिरफ्तार हुए।

जुलाई ३२६ ई० पू० में जब अलक्षेन्द्र के सैनिकों ने नन्द साम्राज्य की शक्ति से भयभीत होकर युद्ध करने से इन्कार कर दिया तो वह विवश होकर एक सहस्र नौकाओं द्वारा झेलम के रास्ते पीछे लौटा। परन्तु इस लौटान में भी उसे मालवों (यूनानी Malloi) क्षुद्रकों (यूनानी akai) अर्जुनायनों (यूनानी Agalassoi) एवं मुशिकों (यूनानी Musicanus) से घोर संग्राम करने पड़े। इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि सप्तसिन्धु प्रदेश के कितने ही नरेशों ने विदेशी आक्रान्ता का सामना किया परन्तु उनमें आभीरों का उल्लेख नहीं प्राप्त होता। हाँ पुरु-साम्राज्य के पन्द्रह अनिर्दिष्ट गणराज्यों में उनकी सम्भावना की जा सकती है।

ऐतिहासिक प्रमाणों के अनुसार शकक्षत्रप रुद्रदामन् के पुत्र दामजदश्री की मृत्यु के पश्चात् दूसरी शती ई० के अन्त में एक भयानक गृहयुद्ध उसके पुत्र एवं भाई के बीच छिड़ गया। यह गृहयुद्ध राजसिंहासन के निमित्त था और इसने क्षत्रपों का गौरव इतना विनष्ट कर दिया कि तृतीय शती ई० के पूर्वार्ध में ही सातवाहन नरेश ने उनके साम्राज्य के एक भाग पर अधिकार कर लिया। इसी समय आभीर नरेश ईश्वरदत्त ने (जो सम्भवतः पहला आभीर वर्ग का नेता था) भी क्षत्रपों को पराजित करके पश्चिमोत्तर दक्षिणापथ में अपना स्वतन्त्र साम्राज्य स्थापित किया[1] जिसमें कि उत्तरी कोंकण प्रदेश एवं दक्षिणी गुजरात भी शामिल थे। इन आभीरों ने सातवाहनों को भी हराया। ईश्वरदत्त ने 'महाक्षत्रप' की उपाधि धारण की तथा अपने नाम की मुद्राएँ भी चलवाईं। इस प्रकार इतिहासप्रसिद्ध 'कलचुरीयुग' का प्रारम्भ सन् २४८ ई० से हुआ जिसकी नींव प्रो० मजूमदार के अनुसार इन्हीं आभीरों ने डाली थी।

इसके पश्चात् अर्थात् तीसरी शती ई० से लेकर दसवीं शती ई० तक आभीरों के विषय में कुछ विशेष सामग्री नहीं मिल पाती वस्तुतः इस लम्बी अवधि में ही गुप्त, मौखरी, मैत्रेयक, गौड, गुर्जर-प्रतिहार, पाल, वाकाटक, चालुक्य, राष्ट्रकूट, चन्देल, कलचुरी परमार, चाहमाण, गुहिल, शाही, सैन्धव, चाप एवं तोमर राजवंश जैसी

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१. द्रष्टव्य मजूमदार कृत 'एन्शेण्ट इण्डिया' पृष्ठ १२५ एवं १३५।

अनेक शक्तियाँ समस्त देश में यत्र-तत्र उठीं और ध्वंस हो गईं। इन सब के बाद का ही समय महमूद गज़नवी के आक्रमण का है। परन्तु दशम शती के मध्यभाग में एक बार आभीर वर्ग पुनः चमका और ग्रहरिपु के नेतृत्व में इसने एक स्वतन्त्र साम्राज्य जूनागढ़ के आसपास स्थापित किया। ग्रहरिपु ने सैन्धवों एवं चालुक्यों को भी परास्त करके समस्त दक्षिण-पश्चिम सौराष्ट्र को अपने आधीन कर लिया। इसकी राजधानी वामनस्थली (आधुनिक वनस्थली गाँव) जूनागढ़ से पश्चिम ९ मील दूर थी।

आभीर नरेश ग्रहरिपु को इतिहासकारों ने 'म्लेच्छ'[१] राजा की उपाधि दी है क्योंकि वह खुले आम गोमांस खाता था और अपने साम्राज्य के अन्तर्गत विद्यमान प्रभास तीर्थ (सोमनाथ) के यात्रियों को लूट लिया करता था। उसके इन्हीं सनातन धर्मविरोधी कृत्यों से क्रुद्ध होकर चालुक्य नरेश मूलराज ने उसके साम्राज्य पर आक्रमण किया और उसे वन्दी बना लिया। बस आभीर नरेशों की कथा यहीं समाप्त हो जाती है।

उपर्युक्त प्रमाणों से ज्ञात होता है कि अन्यान्य जनजातियों की भाँति आभीर-गण भी भारत में प्राचीन काल से ही रहते चले आए हैं। जब कभी उन्हें उत्थान का अवसर मिला, वे उठे और नहीं तो साधारण प्रजा की भाँति देश में सुरक्षित रहे। अलक्षेन्द्र के आक्रमणकाल में भले ही वे प्रतिरोध करने वाले नहीं थे (क्योंकि प्रतिरोध तो कोई राजशक्ति ही करती है परन्तु प्रजा की शक्ति उसके पीछे रहती है) फिर भी भारतीय निवासी के रूप में उनका होना पूर्णतः सम्भव है। जहाँ तक ग्रहरिपु के म्लेच्छ होने की बात है वह सर्वात्मना उसके दुराचार के कारण है ठीक यों ही जैसे प्रतापी ब्राह्मण नरेश रावण का राक्षस होना या सूर्यवंशी नरेश कल्माषपाद का चाण्डाल होना। परन्तु सत्य इतना ही है कि आभीर वर्ग न केवल रुद्रदामन् के युग से प्रत्युत पुराणयुग से ही भारत का निवासी रहा। जैसे भूश्रेष्ठ होने के कारण, ब्रह्म-ज्ञानी होने के कारण, यज्ञोपवीतसंस्कार-जन्य दूसरा जन्म लेने के कारण; वेदज्ञ होने के कारण अथवा अध्यापन कार्य करने के कारण एक जनसमुदाय विशेष को समय-समय पर भूसुर, ब्राह्मण, द्विज, श्रोत्रिय एवं उपाध्याय सरीखी संज्ञाएँ प्राप्त होती रहीं, ठीक उसी प्रकार आभीरों को भी उनके पेशे के कारण अथवा अन्य किसी कारण से तरह-तरह के नाम मिलते रहे और इस सम्बन्ध में लेखक का पूर्ण विश्वास है कि महाभारत काल के गोप या गोपाल वर्ग आभीरों से भिन्न नहीं थे।

जिस समय मथुरा में यदुवंशी वसुदेव विद्यमान थे और भोजवंश का आत-तायी नरेश कंस समस्त शूरसेन प्रदेश का शासन कर रहा था, उसी समय यमुना के दूसरे तट पर नन्दगोप भी विद्यमान थे। नन्द एवं वसुदेव में अत्यन्त गहरी मित्रता थी जिसका कि प्रमाण श्रीमद्भागवत के दशम स्कन्ध में प्राप्त होता है। कृष्णजन्म के पश्चात् राजा का कर चुकाने नन्द जब मथुरा पहुँचते हैं तब——

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१. वही पृ० ३०३।

गोपान् गोकुलरक्षायां निरूप्य मथुरां गतः
नन्दः कंसस्य वार्षिक्यं करं दातुं कुरुद्वह ॥
वसुदेव उपश्रुत्य भ्रातरं नन्दमागतम्
....
प्रीतः प्रियतमं दोर्भ्यां सस्वजे प्रेमविह्वलः ।
पूजितः सुखमासीनः पृष्टवानामयमादृतः ॥

इन श्लोकों से जहाँ यह सिद्ध है कि वसुदेव एवं नन्द परस्पर सहोदर का व्यवहार करते थे वहीं प्रथम श्लोक से यह भी स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि नन्द, कंस के एक करद सामन्त थे। इससे उनकी स्वतन्त्र स्थिति का भान हो जाता है। महर्षि व्यास ने उनके लिये प्रायः 'व्रजपति' (श्रीमद्० १०।८।१७) एवं 'व्रजाधिप' (श्री० १०।११।१७) शब्द का, उनके निवास के लिये व्रज एवं गोकुल (गोपगोभिरलंकृत) का तथा नारियों के लिये 'व्रजवल्लवीनां' 'गोपवध्वः' एवं 'नन्दव्रजस्त्रीणां' शब्दों का प्रयोग किया है। कृष्ण के गाय चराने, गोपियों के दही मथने एवं गाय से सम्बद्ध प्रत्येक कार्य करने का प्रतिपद वर्णन दशम स्कन्ध में प्राप्त होता है। इन उद्धरणों से यह सिद्ध हो जाता है कि महाभारत काल में यमुना के तटवर्ती गोकुल, वृन्दावन, गोवर्धन एवं बरसाना प्रभृति गाँव एक लोकप्रिय सामन्त के आधीन थे और वही सामन्त वसुदेव के प्रिय सखा नन्द थे जो कि तत्कालीन शूरसेन सम्राट् कंस को कर देते थे। नन्द के पास अपरिमित गोधन था। उनकी प्रजा अर्थात् गोपसमूह उन्हें बहुत श्रद्धा की दृष्टि से देखते थे। नन्द की पत्नी यशोदा भी पति की भाँति परम सुन्दरी, पतिव्रता एवं शीलवती थीं। परन्तु आसन्न वृद्धावस्था तक भी सन्तानहीन होने के कारण नन्द परिवार अत्यन्त दुखी था कि इसी बीच वासुदेव कृष्ण उनके यहाँ पुत्र रूप में आए और गोकुल हरा-भरा हो गया।

क्या नन्द आभीर थे ?

प्रश्न यह है कि क्या नन्द आभीर या अहीर थे? इस विषय में कुछ तथ्य जानने योग्य हैं। श्रीमद्भागवतकार ने तो नन्द के आभीर होने का उल्लेख कहीं नहीं किया है। किन्तु आभीरों के विषय में लेखक की अपनी धारणाएँ इस प्रकार हैं—

१. आभीर विदेशी न होकर, प्राचीन काल से ही भारत के निवासी रहे हैं। सम्भवतः ये क्षत्रिय जैसी ही स्थिति के अधिकारी थे।

२. नन्द गोप भी आभीर ही थे। भले ही व्यास ने इस रहस्य का उद्घाटन नहीं किया फिर भी साङ्केतिक या प्रकारान्तर रूप से उन्होंने भी इस मत की पुष्टि की है।

भारत में आने वाले विदेशियों में मुख्यतः हूण, मङ्गोल, तुर्क, शक, कुशान, खश एवं यूनानी ही इतिहासों में वर्णित है। परन्तु आभीरों के विषय में ऐसी तर्क-

निष्ठ धारणा नहीं है। ऊपर वर्णित विदेशी जातियों में कुछ ने तो भारत में साम्राज्य-स्थापना भी की जैसे कुशाणवंशीय कनिष्क, शकक्षत्रप रुद्रदामन् एवं मुगलवंशीय बाबर आदि। परन्तु कुछ तो तत्कालीन भारतीय नरेशों (जैसे शकारि विक्रमादित्य, स्कन्दगुप्त एवं हर्ष) द्वारा पराजित एवं निष्कासित कर दिये गये। हूण एवं मंगोल इसी कोटि में आते हैं। यह भी अवधेय तत्त्व है कि द्राविड़ों एवं आर्यों के भारत में बस जाने के पश्चात् जो भी विदेशी जातियाँ भारत में आईं, वे आक्रामक के ही रूप में और वह भी भारत की अतुल सम्पत्ति को लूटने, हड़पने अथवा स्वधर्म प्रचार के ध्येय से। परन्तु आभीरों का कोई दल आक्रमण के ध्येय से कभी भारत में आया हो, ऐसा प्रमाण कहीं मिलता नहीं। अतः जो लोग आभीरों को विदेशी मानते हैं उनका विचार असंगत है।[१]

भारत में एक सुदृढ़ जनजाति के रूप में आज जो आभीर विद्यमान हैं उनमें भी कुछ और उपजातियाँ हैं, जैसे--ढँढोर-ग्वाल एवं यादव। ये उपजातियाँ ठीक यों ही हैं जैसे ब्राह्मणों में मिश्र, तिवारी, शुक्ल, द्विवेदी एवं चतुर्वेदी आदि अथवा क्षत्रियों में रघुवंशी, दुर्गवंशी, पँवार, चन्देल एवं चौहान आदि। अभीरों की उपजाति 'गुवाल' या 'ग्वाल' संस्कृत शब्द 'गोपाल' का ही प्राकृतरूप हैं क्योंकि पकार का परिवर्तन प्राकृत में प्रायः वकार में हो जाता है (पोवः--प्राकृतप्रकाश २।१५) तथा स्वर का लुप्त अथवा ह्रस्व रूप में परिवर्तित होना भी प्राकृत भाषा का साधारण धर्म है। इस प्रकार ग्वाल शब्द मूलतः 'गोपाल' है जिसे कि महर्षि व्यास ने पूरे श्रीमद्भागवत दशम स्कन्ध में नन्द एवं उनकी प्रजा के लिये प्रयुक्त किया है।

इन तथ्यों से प्रतीत होता है जिस जनजाति को महर्षि व्यास ने गोप अथवा गोपाल रूप में प्रतिष्ठित किया था वही कालान्तर में आभीर या अहीर कही गयी। भाषाशास्त्र में अर्थों का आदेश (परिवर्तन) सङ्कोच एवं विस्तार प्रायः होता ही रहता है। कभी उपनाम, गौणनाम अथवा साधारण संज्ञाएँ ही मूल संज्ञाओं पर हावी हो जाती हैं। ग्वालों को जो अहीर संज्ञा मिली वह बहुत कुछ इसी प्रकार की है।[२] सातवीं-आठवीं शती तक ग्वालों (गोपालों) के लिये आभीर शब्द का प्रयोग धड़ल्ले के साथ होने लगा था क्योंकि ८वीं शती ई० में विद्यमान कश्मीरनरेश चिप्पट जयापीड के सभापति आचार्य उद्भट के ग्रन्थ उद्भटालंकार में इसका हवाला मिलता है—**आभीर-वामनयनाहृतमानसाय दत्तं मनो यदुपते तदिदं गृहाण**। यह तो एक औपचारिक बात हुई। परन्तु आभीर शब्द का प्रयोग सम्भवतः गौतम बुद्ध के ही युग में हो चला था। क्योंकि संस्कृत के साथ ही साथ पालि-प्राकृत एवं अपभ्रंश भाषाएँ बुद्ध के समक्ष सारे भारत

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१. द्रष्टव्य—डॉ० राजबली पाण्डे कृत यदुवंश का इतिहास, पृ० १०५ तथा १३१

२. आभीर शब्द की उत्पत्ति के लिये सविस्तर द्रष्टव्य—अहीरवाल का इतिहास पृ० ८

में फैल चुकी थीं। तथागत ने स्वयं सारनाथ में अपना प्रथम प्रवचन लोकभाषा (पाली) में दिया था। ई० पू० १५० में विद्यमान महाभाष्यकार पतञ्जलि ने इन संस्कृतेतर भाषाओं की बानगी अपने ग्रन्थ में प्रस्तुत की है। प्राकृतों में भी आचार्यों ने महाराष्ट्री, शौरसेनी, मागधी, अर्धमागधी, शकारी, टक्की, पैशाची एवं आवन्ती आदि के साथ 'आभीरी' अथवा 'आभीरिका' का उल्लेख किया है। सत्रहवीं शती ई० के उत्तरार्ध में उत्पन्न आचार्य मार्कण्डेय ने तो अपने 'प्राकृतसर्वस्व' में आभीरिका को आभीरों की भाषा बताते हुए इसकी गणना विभाषा एवं अपभ्रंश में की है और इसके पाञ्चाल, मालव, गौड़, कलिङ्ग, ओड्र, कर्नाटक, द्राविड तथा गुर्जर आदि २६ प्रकार बताए हैं। मार्कण्डेय के साक्ष्य से यह तथ्य सिद्ध हो जाता है कि अहीरों की भाषा 'आभीरी' इन-इन प्रदेशों में तब तक फैल चुकी थी और वे जन तो वहाँ-वहाँ फैले ही थे जिनकी कि यह बोलचाल की भाषा थी।

इस प्रकार निष्कर्ष यह निकला कि संभवतः बुद्धयुग में ही गोपों के लिये आभीर शब्द का प्रयोग होने लगा था। आभीर का कोशसम्मत अर्थ भी गोपाल ही होता है। प्रमाण के लिये अमरकोश द्रष्टव्य है—**गोपे गोपालगोसङ्ख्यगोधुगाभीरबल्लवाः**। अतएव गोप, गोपाल, गोसंख्य, गोधुक्, आभीर एवं बल्लव इन ६ शब्दों में कोई अन्तर नहीं। इन्हीं गोपों की भाषा 'आभीरी' कही जाती थी। इसी प्रकार श्रीमद्भागवत में भले ही नन्द परिवार को केवल गोप एवं गोपाल एवं बल्लव कहा गया है परन्तु उन्हें आभीर भी कहने में कोई अनौचित्य नहीं। गोपालों एवं आभीरों की इसी मौलिकता के कारण भक्तिकालीन हिन्दी कवियों ने—'ताहि अहीर की छोहरिया छछिया भरि छाछ पै नाच नचावें' जैसे उद्गार प्रकट किये। संस्कृत भाषा में तो कृष्ण एवं नन्द के आभीरत्व के सहस्रों उदाहरण प्राप्य हैं।

आभीरों एवं यादवों का अन्तर्मेल

संस्कृत आभीर का ही प्राकृत रूप 'अहीर' होगा क्योंकि 'ख घ छ झ थ ध एवं फ भ' वर्णों का प्राकृत रूप प्रायः 'ह' होता है। अब यह विचारणीय प्रश्न है कि चन्द्रवंशी यादव क्षत्रियों एवं आभीरों में अन्तर्मेल कब और कैसे हुआ? जैसा कि ऊपर स्पष्ट किया जा चुका है कि वसुदेव एवं नन्द में सहोदर जैसा प्रेमभाव था। संभवतः इसी कारण अपने वैपत्तिक दिनों में वसुदेव ने अपनी पत्नी रोहिणी को नन्द के घर भेज दिया था और बाद में कृष्ण को भी उन्हीं के पास रखा। वसुदेव की यह हार्दिक इच्छा थी कि रोहिणीपुत्र बलराम, नन्द से पिता जैसा ही व्यवहार रखे। नन्द से वे पूछते भी हैं—भ्रातर्मम सुतः कच्चिन्मात्रा सह भवद्व्रजे

तातं भवन्तं मन्वानो भवद्भ्यामुपलालितः ॥—श्रीमद्० १०।५।२७

इससे लगता है कि आभीर नन्द यादव वसुदेव के अन्तरङ्ग सखा थे। सम्भवतः सामाजिक दृष्टि से भी उन दोनों का सान्निध्य औचित्यपूर्ण ही था। यह स्थिति तभी मान्य

होगी जब कि हम ग्राभीरों को भी क्षत्रिय सरीखी सामाजिक मान्यतावाला ग्रथवा स्थूलरूप से वैश्य वर्ग का मान लें। वस्तुतः ग्राभीरों को (ग्रहीर) वैश्य रूप में इसलिये माना गया है क्योंकि उनके वंश मूल में किसी क्षत्रिय के होने का प्रमाण कहीं भी नहीं प्राप्त होता। ग्रमरकोश में ग्राभीरों की गणना वणिकों के साथ वैश्यवर्ग में ही की गई है तथा गोधन-रक्षण को ही इनका कर्तव्य निर्दिष्ट किया गया है। इस प्रकार क्षत्रिय एवं उसी जैसे एक उच्च वैश्यवर्गीय व्यक्ति का सहोदरत्व ग्रस्वाभाविक नहीं प्रतीत होता। ग्रतएव यह कल्पना की जा सकती है कि वसुदेव एवं नन्द की जातिभावना उनकी सुदृढ़ मैत्री में विलीन हो चुकी थी। किन्तु ई० पू० तीसरी चौथी शती में विद्यमान संस्कृत के प्राचीनतम नाटककार भास ने ग्रपने बालचरित नामक नाटक में, वसुदेव एवं नन्दगोप को 'स्वामी एवं दास' के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया है। इससे लगता है कि मौर्यों एवं शुङ्गों के राज्यकाल तक ग्राभीरों की सामाजिक मान्यता ग्रपेक्षाकृत गिर चुकी थी।

ग्राभीरों एवं यादवों का यह सम्बन्ध तब ग्रौर भी समीप एवं सुदृढ़ हो गया जब वसुदेव ने ग्रपने पुत्र कृष्ण को, दुराचारी कंस के भयवश नन्द के हवाले कर दिया। यद्यपि प्रारम्भ में तो यह रहस्य 'रहस्य' ही रहा परन्तु बाद में जब वसुदेव के कुलगुरु महर्षि गर्ग कृष्ण एवं बलराम का नामकरण करने गोकुल गये तब समस्त व्रजवासियों को श्रीकृष्ण के वसुदेव के पुत्र होने एवं भगवदवतार होने की बात भी ज्ञात हो गई। फिर भी ग्राभीरों पर ऐसा स्वाभाविक मोह छा गया था कि वे गोविन्द को ग्रपने से पृथक् मान ही नहीं सकते थे। गोपियाँ उनके प्रेम में सराबोर थीं ग्रौर गाएँ कृष्ण के वेणुनाद पर मंत्रमुग्ध सी थीं। यदुवंशी क्षत्रिय 'कृष्ण का ग्राभीर मण्डल में विलय' द्वापर-युग का एक ऐसा तथ्य है जिसने कि इन दोनों जातियों में एक ऐसी एकीभूत चेतना का संचार कर दिया कि दोनों एक ही प्रणय स्रोतं में बह गईं। यह स्रोत कृष्ण रूपी सागर में ही गिरा।

यादव कृष्ण एवं बलराम ने ग्राभीरपल्ली गोकुल को ही ग्रपनी क्रीडास्थली बनाया। घर-घर दही चुराना, लुकाछिपी, गोचारण, चीरहरण, रास रचना, राक्षसों का वध, वेणुगीत एवं वृषभानुलली राधा के साथ उन्मुक्त प्रेम जैसी लीलाग्रों के माध्यम से कृष्ण ग्रपनी युवावस्था तक ग्रहीर बने रहे। उनकी इन्हीं लीलाग्रों को लक्ष्य करके, शिशुपाल ने धर्मराज युधिष्ठिर के राजसूय-याग में उन्हें जारजात, मूर्ख, गँवार एवं गाय चराने वाला कहकर गाली दी। ये मनोरम ग्रंश ग्रब भी महाभारत के सभापर्व में द्रष्टव्य हैं। यही है महाभारत काल में होने वाले यादवों (क्षत्रियों) एवं ग्राभीरों (ग्रहीरों) के ग्रन्तर्मेल की कथा।

ग्रहीर यादव कब बने ?

उपर्युक्त व्याख्यान से इतना तो स्पष्ट हो गया कि ग्राभीरों एवं यादवों का एकीभाव हुग्रा कैसे। किन्तु यह प्रमाण स्पष्टतः कहीं नहीं प्राप्त होता कि ग्राभीरों ने

अपने को यादव कब से कहना प्रारम्भ किया ? मेरे ख्याल से यह प्रथा केवल अंग्रेजी राज्य के बाद ही भारत में प्रचलित हुई है। क्योंकि इतिहास के पन्ने पलटने पर ज्ञात होता है कि नाम के आगे अपनी जाति निर्दिष्ट करने की परम्परा मुख्यतः केवल ब्राह्मणों में ही प्रचलित थी। किन्तु वह भी बस नाम मात्र की थी तथा मुगल साम्राज्य के बराबर ही पुरानी। उसके पूर्ववर्ती किसी भी युग के ब्राह्मण केवल अपने गोत्रादि का उल्लेख करते थे। हाँ राजस्थान के राजपूत अवश्य ही अपने आगे सिंह लगाते रहे। वस्तुतः ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय एवं वैश्य इन सब में उनका गोत्र ही प्रधान है क्योंकि वह उनके आदिवंशप्रवर्तकों का बोधक है जैसे ब्राह्मणों में––गर्ग, गौतम, शाण्डिल्य, भरद्वाज, वत्स एवं वशिष्ठ आदि शब्द यह सूचित करते हैं कि अमुक ब्राह्मण अमुक महर्षि की सन्तान है। किन्तु मिश्र, शुक्ल, त्रिपाठी, द्विवेदी, चतुर्वेदी, ओझा, शर्मा, झा, चट्टोपाध्याय, नेहरू तथा हिर्लेकर प्रभृति ब्राह्मणजातिसूचक शब्द तो कुछ वंश एवं स्थानगत रुढ़ियों को ही लेकर बने हैं। ठीक यों ही सूर्य एवं चन्द्रवंश ही क्षत्रियों के आदि गोत्र हैं अन्यथा परमार, चन्देल, चौहान, राठौर एवं राजपूत आदि तो गुप्तकाल के परवर्ती क्षत्रियवंश हैं जिनमें कोई मौलिक स्थायित्व नहीं। गज़नवी से आक्रमण के बाद प्राचीन भारतीय जातियों में जितनी उथल-पुथल हुई उसका विवरण तत्त्वतः इतिहासकार भी नहीं दे सकते। अतः आज जो जाति जिस रूप में है, हमें बिना किसी 'ननु नच' के उसे उसी रूप में स्वीकार कर लेना है। निष्कर्ष यह है कि गौतम बुद्ध के सैंकड़ों वर्ष पूर्व ही आभीर अथवा गोपाल जाति छिटफुट रूप से समस्त भारतभूमि में और समवायतः शौरसेन प्रदेश में बस चुकी थी। यादव क्षत्रियों से इन आभीरों का पारिवारिक सम्बन्ध दैवयोग से ही हुआ और वह सम्बन्ध इतना सुदृढ़, प्रेममय एवं नैसर्गिक हुआ कि आभीरवर्ग का अस्तित्व ही यादवों में संक्रान्त हो गया। यह स्वाभाविक सिद्धान्त है कि जब दो भिन्न वैशिष्ट्य वाली जातियों, वंशों, पदार्थों या व्यक्तियों का ही अन्तर्मेल होता है तब प्रायः अपेक्षाकृत उत्कृष्ट का स्खलन एवं दूसरे का परिवर्धन होता है। इसमें एक वर्ग का अहंभाव तथा दूसरे की महत्त्वाकांक्षा कारण बनते हैं।

ठीक इसी प्रकार भगवान् कृष्ण ने एक लम्बी अवधि तक गोकुल में रहकर अपने अगणित स्नेहाश्चर्यासिक्त कार्यकलापों, प्रणयमनुहारों एवं बाल-लीलाओं द्वारा गोप-गोपियों के मन में यह भाव कीलित कर दिया कि वे उनसे भिन्न नहीं हैं—बस एक आभीर की सन्तान हैं, नन्द-यशोदा की सन्तान, अहीरबाला राधा के प्राणप्रिय और कजरी, धौरी, भूरी प्रभृति गैयों को चराने वाले ! यदि कृष्ण अतिमानव न होते, यदि उनका देवत्व लोकविश्रुत न हुआ होता तो बहुत संभव था कि जलमार्जित प्रज्ज्वलित अग्नि की तरह, यादवों एवं आभीरों का यह प्रसंग भी वहीं समाप्त हो गया होता। इस निर्णय के साथ कि यादव 'यादव' (क्षत्रिय) हैं तथा आभीर 'आभीर' (गोपालवर्गीय) परन्तु कृष्ण ने तो अपना सर्वस्व आभीरों पर निछावर कर दिया था। ब्रजबालाएँ कृष्ण से ऐसा अलौकिक प्रेम करती थीं कि उद्धव उनकी चरण-रज बनने में भी अपना अहोभाग्य समझते थे। देखिये—

.आसामहो चरणरेणुजुपामहं स्यां वृन्दावने किमपि गुल्मलतौषधीनाम् ।
या दुस्त्यजं स्वजनमार्यपथं च हित्वा भेजुर्मुकुन्दपदवीं श्रुतिभिर्विमृग्याम् ।।
श्रीमद्भा० १०।४०।६१

चूँकि दुनियाँ कृष्ण को यदुवंशी मानती थी और दूसरी ओर समस्त आभीर वर्ग उन्हें अपना अविच्छेद्य अंग मानता था, बस इसीलिये द्वापर युग की समाप्ति के बाद (ईसा से लगभग ३००० वर्ष पूर्व) वसुदेव-देवकी, नन्द-यशोदा, राधा-रुक्मिणी, कौरव-पाण्डव एवं अन्यान्य व्यक्तियों के भी समाप्त हो जाने के पश्चात् जब उनकी पौराणिक मान्यता भर अवशिष्ट रह गई, तब भी आभीरों एवं यादवों का वह सांयोगिक अन्तरैक्य जैसे का तैसा बना रह गया । बल्कि यह कहना चाहिये कि वह और भी स्थिर हो गया । यह एक दैवयोग से घटित ऐतिहासिक घटना ही मानी जा सकती है ।

देवगिरि के यादव नरेश

बारहवीं शती के उत्तरार्ध तक न किसी चन्द्रवंशी क्षत्रिय नरेश (अथवा प्रजा ?) ने ही अपने को यादव कहा और न किसी आभीर ने । बारहवीं शती के उत्तरार्ध में सर्वप्रथम दो राजवंशों का उदय दक्षिण भारत में हुआ जो अपने को यदुवंशी कृष्ण का वंशज मानते थे । इनमें से पहला राजवंश देवगिरि (आधुनिक दौलताबाद) में था और दूसरा मैसूर प्रदेश में । देवगिरि के यादवों की राजधानी देवगिरि ही थी परन्तु मैसूर के होयसालवंशी यादवों की राजधानी द्वारसमुद्र (आधुनिक हालविड) थी । ये दोनों राजवंश चालुक्यों एवं राष्ट्रकूटों को शत्रु मानते थे साथ ही साथ परस्पर प्रतिस्पर्धी भी थे । भिल्लम, जैतुगि (जैत्रपाल), सिंघण, महादेव, कृष्ण एवं रामचन्द्र देवगिरि के प्रतापी यादव थे । अलाउद्दीन खिलजी के सेनापति मलिक काफूर ने रामचन्द्र के पुत्र शङ्कर को सन् १३१३ ई० में मार कर इस साम्राज्य का अन्त कर दिया । परन्तु अवधेय है कि यह राजवंश 'यादव आभीरों' का नहीं था प्रत्युत यादव क्षत्रियों का । यादवों का यही एक साम्राज्य भारतीय इतिहास में प्रसिद्ध है । फिर उसके बाद सन् १३०० से लगभग सन् १७०० तक अर्थात् चार सौ वर्ष तक प्रायः किसी ने नाम के आगे यादव नहीं लिखा । प्रामाणाभाव में लेखक का यह अनुमान असत्य भी हो सकता है । सुधीजन इस तथ्य पर और सामग्री प्रस्तुत कर सकते हैं ।

उपसंहार के साथ ही साथ प्रस्तुत निबन्ध के विषय में दो एक आवश्यक तथ्य बता देना लेखक का कर्तव्य है । वह यह कि प्रस्तुत लेख मूलतः पौराणिक मान्यता के आधार पर लिखा गया है, फिर भी ऐतिहासिक साक्ष्यों की उपेक्षा नहीं की गई है । डॉ० राजबली पाण्डेय कृत यदुवंश का इतिहास तथा डॉ० कृपालुचन्द्र यादव कृत 'अहीरवाल का इतिहास' यद्यपि आभीर- यादव समस्या के समाधानार्थ यथेष्ट है परन्तु पाण्डेय जी की बहुतेरी मान्यताएँ प्रमाणहीन एवं आत्मगौरव भर की पोषक हैं ।

'वसुदेव की पत्नी रोहिणी यशोदा की बहन थी, 'उग्रसेन के भाई वसुदेव कंस के निकटतम शत्रु थे' (पृ० ५०) सरीखे वाक्यों का क्या प्रमाण है ? दूसरी बात यह कि डॉ० पाण्डे ने महाभारत युग से लेकर १९वीं शती तक के सारे भारतीय राजवंशों को यादव ही सिद्ध करने का प्रयास किया है जिसमें अनेक अड़चनें हैं। डा० पाण्डे के अनुसार यदि आभीर नन्द एवं वसुदेव को एक ही सूत्र में जोड़ दिया जाय तो प्रश्न उठता है कि फिर दोनों की सामाजिक एवं राजकीय स्थितियों में इतना बड़ा अन्तर कैसे हो गया ? वस्तुतः आभीर वर्ग प्राचीन काल से ही एक समुन्नत समाज का प्रतिनिधि रहा है। हम मुक्तकण्ठ से उन्हें क्षत्रिय स्वीकार करते हैं परन्तु क्या उनका क्षत्रियत्व सिद्ध करने के लिये आवश्यक है कि हम बिना किसी प्रमाण के उन्हें सात्वत-हैहय शाखा का मान लें ? मेरा अपना विचार है कि भारत भूमि में पले राजपूत जैसे मान्य क्षत्रिय हैं वैसे ही आभीर भी। यह दूसरी बात है कि अपने वैयक्तिक चरित्र के कारण वे कभी म्लेच्छ या वैश्य भी कहे गये।

प्राचीन भारत में अश्व-कन्दुक क्रीड़ा की एक ऐतिहासिक समीक्षा

श्रीमती रीता रानी पाण्डेय*

वर्तमान काल में अश्व-कन्दुक-क्रीड़ा संसार की एक महत्त्वपूर्ण क्रीड़ा मानी जाती है। विदेशों में इस क्रीड़ा का बहुत अधिक प्रचलन है। पाश्चात्य उद्धरणों के अनुसार अश्व-कन्दुक-क्रीड़ा 'हार्स पोलो' के नाम से सन् १८६३ में आरम्भ हुई। इसके समारम्भ करनेवाले मेजर जनरल शेरार थे। यह खेल भारत में मनीपूर व कलकत्ता के दो दलों में हुआ था। प्रथम उल्लेखित मैच इन उद्धरणों के अनुसार सन् १८७१ में हुआ था जिसका प्रकाशन जुलाई सन् १८७१ में 'मार्निंग पोस्ट' मैगजीन में किया गया। यह मैच 'हूँसलो हीथ' में नवें 'लैंसरस' तथा दसवें 'हुसारों' के बीच में हुआ था। इस मैच में दोनों पक्षों में ८ खिलाड़ी होते थे। सन् १८७३ में प्रत्येक पक्ष के खिलाड़ियों की संख्या ८ से घटा कर ५ कर दी गई। सन् १८८२ में खिलाड़ियों की संख्या ४ कर दी गई।[१]

इस खेल के लिए मैदान यदि किसी वस्तु से घिरा न हो तो ३०० गज लम्बा तथा २०० गज चौड़ा होना चाहिये। यदि मैदान चारों तरफ से घिरा हो तो उसकी लम्बाई ३०० गज और चौड़ाई १६० गज होनी चाहिये। गोल पोस्ट की चौड़ाई ८ गज होती है। इस खेल के लिए प्रत्येक पक्ष में चार खिलाड़ी होते हैं। एक मैच एक घंटे का होता है जिसके बीच में मध्यान्तर होते हैं। मध्यान्तर में घोड़े बदल लिये जाते हैं। इंगलैंड में ८ मिनट के सात पीरियड होते हैं। अमेरिका में साढ़े सात मिनट के ८ या ६ पीरियड होते हैं। खिलाड़ी नं० एक, दो, तीन तथा नं० चार, जिसको 'बैक' भी कहते हैं, के क्रम से खड़े होते हैं, परन्तु खेल के दौरान में खिलाड़ियों के स्थान बदलते रहते हैं।[२]

अश्व-कन्दुक-क्रीड़ा का विस्तृत एवं क्रमबद्ध विवरण १२वीं शताब्दी में भी प्राप्त होता है जो उपरोक्त विवरण से बहुत कुछ मिलता है। यद्यपि यह बात कौतू-

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१—इन साइक्लो पीडिया ब्रिटानिका पृ० सं० १७५ भाग १८

२—वही पृ० सं० १७६

हलपूर्ण प्रतीत होती है कि प्राचीन काल से प्रचलित इस क्रीड़ा का वर्तमान भारतीय क्रीड़ाओं में कोई स्थान नहीं है। यदि स्पष्ट शब्दों में यों कहा जाय कि अब इस कीड़ा को भारत में बहुत कम लोग खेल रहे हैं तो अत्युक्ति न होगी। परन्तु पाश्चात्य देशों में प्रचलित समस्त क्रीड़ाओं में 'हार्स पोलो' एक विशेष स्थान रखता है। इस प्रकार यदि हम इस मत को आपके समक्ष इस प्रकार रखें तो लगभग सत्य प्रतीत होता है कि पाश्चात्य हार्स पोलो प्राचीन भारतीय अश्व-कन्दुक-क्रीड़ा का ही विकसित रूप है।

अश्व-कन्दुक-क्रीड़ा का उल्लेख एवं विवरण सर्वप्रथम हमें सोमेश्वर कृत मानसोल्लास (बारहवीं शताब्दी) में मिलता है। इस काव्य में सर्वप्रथम उस भूमि का वर्णन किया गया है जिस पर यह खेल हुआ करता था। भूमि कीचड़, पत्थर आदि से रहित होती थी। वह न तो अधिक कठोर ही होती थी और न अधिक मुलायम। जिस भूमि पर यह खेल होता था उसे वाह्याली[1] कहा जाता था। इसके अतिरिक्त दर्शकों को देखने के लिए मंडप भी बनवाया जाता था। यह मंडप दो द्वारों से युक्त होता था। इस मंडप का निर्माण उत्तर दिशा की ओर, अथवा दक्षिण दिशा की ओर वायु के अनुकूल होता था।

वाह्याली तथा दर्शक मंडप के निर्माण के पश्चात् हयाध्यक्ष को बुलाया जाता था। राजा हयाध्यक्ष को आज्ञा देता था कि घोड़ों को वाह्याली में बुलाया जाय।[2]

विनोद एवं खेल के पूर्व घोड़ों की परीक्षा की जाती थी। इस परीक्षा में घोड़ों के देश, नाम, वर्ण, गंध, छाया, गति तथा आकार का ध्यान रखा जाता था।[3] जिन घोड़ों को खेल के लिये लाया जाता था उन्हें विविध प्रकार से सजाया जाता था। उनके वक्षःस्थल पर सुनहले पट्टे बाँधे जाते थे। ग्रीवा पर कुमकुम लगाया जाता था।[4] तथा उनका विविध प्रकार से श्रृंगार किया जाता था।

जो अश्व इस खेल के लिये प्रस्तुत किये जाते थे उनकी विभिन्न प्रकार से परीक्षा कर ली जाती थी। अश्वों के परीक्षा के सम्बन्ध में विवरण नकुल के अश्वशास्त्र में भी मिलता है। नकुल ने अपने अश्वशास्त्र में अश्वों की परीक्षा के ८ लक्षण बताये हैं।[5]

महाराजा सोमेश्वर ने अश्वों का विभाजन करते हुए बताया है कि सर्वोत्तम प्रकार के अश्व ७ प्रकार के होते हैं, उत्तम प्रकार के ५, मध्यम प्रकार के १४ तथा निम्न श्रेणी के अश्व १३ प्रकार के होते हैं।

१—मानसोल्लास ४/४/६६२-६६३
२—वही ४/४/६६६
३—वही ४/४/६६७-६६८
४—वही ४/४/७८४-७९१
५—नकुल-अश्वशास्त्र पृष्ठ २

मानसोल्लास में अश्वों के २६ भेद और बताये गये हैं, परन्तु सोमेश्वर ने उनका नाम नहीं दिया है। उनका कथन यह है कि कलियुग में इस प्रकार के अश्व नहीं पाये जाते। सर्वोत्तम अश्वों का नाम सोमेश्वर ने इस प्रकार दिया है :—

१—कम्बोज, २—यवन, ३—तेजी, ४—वाल्हिक, ५—चातल, ६—तोख्खारक ७—सकेकाण।

नकुल ने कम्बोज का नाम अपने अश्वशास्त्र में काभोज दिया है। उनके अनुसार भी इस प्रकार का अश्व गति, रूप, वर्ण तथा कुल आदि में सबसे उत्तम होता था। सोमेश्वर के मानसोल्लास में यवन अश्वों का जो वर्णन किया गया है वे आज के अरबी घोड़े होते हैं। नकुल ने भी अपने अश्वशास्त्र में यवन घोड़ों का उल्लेख किया है। उनके अनुसार इन घोड़ों में निम्न लिखित गुण होते थे :—

चारु नयनकपोलास्तनुहनु वक्रास्तुरंगमाः शस्ताः,
यवनास्तुरगा विपुलाः पृथुघनं वक्षोललाटनयनाः स्युः।
दीर्घाः खुकुष्टिकाः सुखुरा लघुक्रमाः शस्ताः
प्रियदर्शनाः सुवर्णाः स्पष्टायततनुमहाकायाः
तेजःसत्वोपेताः तनुत्वचश्चापि सूक्ष्मरोमाणः॥

वाहलिक अश्वों का वर्णन नकुल के अश्वशास्त्र में भी मिलता है जिन घोड़ों का नाम नकुल ने तुषार[१] रक्खा है उसे सोमेश्वर ने तोक्ष्वार[२] या तोकार कहा है।

उत्तम प्रकार के ६ अश्वों का वर्णन सोमेश्वर द्वारा किया गया है। जो १—पोद्दार, २—कान्दलेय, ३—यौधेय, ४—वाजपेयक, ५—वनायुन और ६—पारसीक हैं।[३] इसी प्रकार १४ प्रकार के मध्यम वर्ग के घोड़ों का भी वर्णन सोमेश्वर द्वारा अश्व-कन्दुक-क्रीड़ा के सम्बन्ध में किया गया है।

क्रीड़ा के लिये घुड़सवारों के दो पक्ष होते थे। प्रत्येक पक्ष के खिलाड़ियों की संख्या ८ होती थी।[४] राजा स्वयं भी एक सजे हुए एवं सुन्दर घोड़े पर चढ़ कर वाह्याली में आता था। दोनों पक्षों की ओर दो-दो तोरण लगे होते थे। इनके बीच की दूरी तीन धनुष के बराबर होती थी। तोरणों के साथ-साथ स्तम्भ भी लगे होते थे और इनके मध्य की दूरी ४ धनुष के बराबर होती थी जो गोल पोस्ट होते थे।

अश्व-कन्दुक-क्रीड़ा के लिये पाँच अंगुल परिणाह की एक गेंदिका होती थी जो

१—नकुल अश्वशास्त्र
२—मानसोल्लास ४/४/८१६
३—मानसोल्लास ४/४/६७०
४—वही ४/४/७९७

काले रंग के चमड़े से ढकी होती थी ।[१] इस गेंदिका पर एक विशेष प्रकार का वस्त्र लगा होता था जिसे 'हेम-पट्ट' कहते थे । गेंदिका रत्नों से जटिल होती थी । इसके साथ ही साथ चमड़े से आच्छादित एक लाल रंग का गेंद भी होता था जिसे गेंदिका की सहायता से घोड़े पर चढ़कर फेंका जाता था ।

जिस पक्ष की तरफ गेंद निकल जाता था वह पराजित माना जाता था, और जो पक्ष गेंद निकालता था वह विजयी माना जाता था ।

जो लोग राजा के पक्ष में होते थे वे तोरण के समीप खड़े होते थे । सब लोग गेंदिका के अग्रभाग द्वारा चमड़े से आच्छादित लाल रंग के गेंद को जमीन पर फेंकते थे । एक व्यक्ति गेंद को पुनः संघर्ष द्वारा लौटा देता था । इसी बीच कोई दूसरा व्यक्ति आता था और गेंद को पकड़ कर विपक्ष की ओर फेंक देता था । विजय प्राप्त करने के लिये यह आवश्यक था कि गेंद को तोरण के अन्तिम भाग से बाहर निकाल दिया जाय ।[२]

अन्त में राजा स्वयं घोड़े पर सवार होकर वाह्याली में जाकर अश्व-प्रबन्ध में अपनी कुशलता का प्रदर्शन करता था ।[३] इसके पश्चात् खेल समाप्त हो जाता था ।

१—वही ४/४/८०४-८०५
२—मानसोल्लास ४/४/८१३-८१५
३—विक्रमांकदेव चरिता ६६१-८२७

स्त्रीधन ओ विद्यापति

डा० इन्द्रकान्त झा*

युगद्रष्टा महाकवि विद्यापति महाराज शिवसिंहक मृत्यूपरान्त एक नैबन्धिकक रूप मे हमारा लोकनिक समक्ष उपस्थित होइत छथि । तत्कालीन समाज मे बाँट-बखराक कठिनाइ केँ दूर करबाक हेतु नैबन्धिक विद्यापति विभागसारक[१] रचना केलनि । ओहि मे ओ स्त्रीधनक विवेचना कएने छथि ।

स्त्रीधनक शाब्दिक अर्थ थिक स्त्रीक धन, अर्थात् ओ सम्पत्ति जेकरा पर ओकर पूर्ण अधिकार हो आर जे पैतृक तथा संयुक्त परिवारक सम्पत्ति सँ भिन्न हो । विद्यापतिक विभागसार सँ ज्ञात होइत अछि जे १० प्रकारक स्त्रीधन होइत छल—

१—अध्यग्नि ।
२—अध्यावहनिक ।
३—प्रीतिपूर्वक देल गेल धन (पादवन्दनिक)
४—माय सँ देल गेल धन ।
५—पिता सँ देल गेल धन ।
६—भाय सँ देल गेल धन ।
७—शुल्क ।
८—अन्वाधेय ।
९—सौदायिक ।
१०—आधिवेदनिक ।

उपर्युक्त ६ प्रकारक धनक चर्चा मनु एवं कात्यायन द्वारा कएल गेल अछि । विवाहक समय मे जे केओ जे किछु धन दैत छलथिन ओकरा अध्यग्नि कहल जाइत छल ।[२] द्विरागमन काल मे जे किछु धन देल जाइत छल ओकरा अध्यावहनिक

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* मैथिली विभाग, पटना कालेज, पटना-५ ।

१. ई एक अप्रकाशित रचना थिक । एकर विस्तृत वर्णनक हेतु देखू हमर निबन्ध, विद्यापति वाङ्मय, पृ० ११५-१२२, मिथिला मिहिर, विद्यापति स्मृति अंक, ३ नवम्बर, १९६८, पृ० १२-१३ एवं हमर शोध-प्रबन्ध, 'विद्यापतिक रचनाक आधार पर तद्युगीन मिथिलाक सामाजिक जीवन,' पृ० ५८—६१ ।

२. विभागसार (लेखकक प्रति) पृ० १९—
अध्यग्नि विवाहकाले येन केनापि दत्तं तदध्यग्नीति प्रसिद्धम् ।

कहल गेल अछि। विद्यापति एकरा यौतुक कहैत छथि।[१] वर्त्तमान काल मे सेहो मिथिला मे यौतुक देबाक प्रथा प्रचलित अछि। प्रणत स्त्री के सासु-श्वसुर वा अन्य किनको द्वारा प्रीतिपूर्वक जे धन देल जाइत छलनि ओ प्रीतिपूर्वक देल धन कहल जाइत छल। ओकरे कात्यायन पादवन्दनिक धन कहैत छथि। एहि धन केँ ओ लावण्य सँ उपार्जित कएल गेल धन कहैत छथि।[२] एहि सँ ज्ञात होइत अछि जे वर्त्तमानकाल में कनियाँ के जे मुँहदेखाइ वा गोरलगाइ देल जाइत छनि, वएह पादवन्दनिक धन छल होएत। औखन ओहि धन पर स्त्रीक अपन अधिकार रहैत छनि।

एकर अतिरिक्त माता-पिता एवं भाइ सँ देल गेल धन मे कालक निर्धारण नहि रहैत छल।[३] अर्थात् ओ लोकनि कखनहु धन दऽ सकैत छलथिन। उपर्युक्त छबो प्रकारक धनक चर्चा विद्यापतिक समकालीन वाचस्पति मिश्र एवं मिसरु मिश्र सेहो कएने छथिन।[४]

विष्णुक कथन छनि जे माता-पिता, सुहृद एवं भ्राता द्वारा अग्निक समीप मे देल गेल मूल लब्ध जे वस्तु छल ओ शुल्क कहवैत छल आर विवाहोपरान्त पितृकुल वा पतिकुलक दिस स जे किछु देल जाइत छल ओकरा अन्वाधेय कहल जाइत छल। एकर अतिरिक्त जे विवाहिता वा अविवाहिता कन्या केँ पतिकुल सँ वा भाइ अथवा माता-पिता सँ जे किछु प्राप्त होइत छलैक ओ सौदायिक धन कहवैत छल[५] आर पति जखन दोसर विवाह करय लगैत छलथिन तखन पति द्वारा पहिल स्त्री केँ जे धन देल जाइत छलनि ओकरा आधिवेदनिक धन कहल जाइत छल।[६]

सौदायिक धन पर स्त्रीगणक अपन स्वत्व रहैत छलनि। ओहि धन केँ बेचवा मे, दान करबा मे वा अन्य कोनो कार्य करबा मे स्वतंत्रता छलनि। ओ धन चाहे स्थावर किएक ने हो।[७] ई कथन तँ कात्यायनक थिकनि। मुदा सौदायिक धन पर स्त्रीक अपन

१. विभागसार (लेखकक प्रति) पृ० १९।

२. वएह, पादवन्दनिकं यत्तल्लावण्यार्जितमुच्यते।

३. वएह, मातृदत्तं भ्रातृदत्तं पितृदत्तं ना कालनियमः।

४. वाचस्पतिमिश्र : विवाद-चिन्तामणि, पृ० २१२; मिसरु मिश्र : विवादचन्द्र, पृ० ८७।

५. विभागसार, पृ० १९।

६. वएह, द्वितीयविवाहे आधिवन्नार्थं इति प्रथमभार्यायै तदधिवेदनकाले पत्यादत्तमधिवेदनिकम्।

७. वएह, पृ० १९-२०।

सौदायिकं धनं प्राप्य स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यमिष्यते।
तस्मात्तदानृशंस्यार्थे तैर्दत्तं तत्प्रजीवनम्॥
सौदायिके सदा स्त्रीणां....स्वातन्त्र्यं परिकीर्त्तितम्।
विक्रये चैव दाने च यथेष्टं स्थावरेष्वपि॥

अधिकार रहैत छलैक श्रोकर प्रमाण विद्यापतिक 'लिखनावली'[1] सँ भेटि जाइत श्रछि। श्रोहि मे विद्यापति स्पष्ट रूप सँ कहैत छथि जे सब भाइ पिता एवं पितामहक स्थावर एवं जंगम वस्तु बाँटि सकैत छथि, मुदा स्त्रीक सौदायिक धन केँ नहि बाँटि सकैत छथि। श्रतएव प्रस्तुत पत्र द्रष्टव्य थिक—

सिद्धिः। श्रमुकनगरे श्रमुकामुकनामानश्चत्वारो भ्रातरो विवदमानाः परस्परं निस्सम्वपत्रीं प्रयच्छन्ति–श्रस्माकं पैत्र्यं पैतामहं च साधारणं स्थावरं जंगमं च यद्धन-मासीत्, तत्तज्ज्येष्ठांशत्वेन ज्येष्ठस्य दत्त्वा सौदायिकस्त्रीधनवर्ज्जमक्षपूर्वकं विभाज्यं विभज्य यथा भागमस्माभिर्गृहीतम्। ततोऽग्रे न परस्परं कोऽप्यर्थे सम्वन्धो नास्तीति श्रत्रार्थे साक्षिणः श्रमुकामुकाः कृता भूताश्चेति ॥६२॥[2]

स्त्रीक ज्ञाति धन श्रलंकार छल। श्रोहि पर श्रोकर श्रपन श्रधिकार छलैक। एहि प्रक्रम मे मनु एवं विष्णुक कथन छनि जे--

पत्योर्जीवति यः कश्चिदलंकारो धृतो भवेत्।
न तं भजेरन्दायादा भजमाना पतन्ति ते ॥[3]

श्रर्थात् स्वामीक जीवतावस्था मे स्त्री जाहि श्रलंकार केँ धारण केलनि श्रोकर विभाग दायाद नहि करथि। यदि श्रोकर विभाग करथि तँ श्रो पतित भऽ जैताह।

पतिक मृत्यूपरान्त धनक श्रधिकारी स्त्री होइत छलीह। श्रोहि धनक विषय मे कात्यायनक कथन छनि जे स्वामीक मृत्यूपरान्त स्वामीक धनक विन्यास स्त्री श्रपन इच्छा सँ करथि। विना पुत्रक स्त्री स्वामीक नहि रहला पर व्रती भऽ कऽ स्वामीक शय्याक रक्षा करैत श्राजीवन शान्ति सँ हुनकर धनक उपभोग करथि श्रार हुनकर मृत्यू-परान्त दायाद लोकनि श्रोहि धनकें प्राप्त करथि।[4] जाहि धनक हेतु पति प्रतिज्ञा कएने होथि श्रो धन पुत्रकेँ दऽ देबाक चाही।[5] सौदायिक मे प्राप्त स्थावर धन केँ छोड़ि कऽ पतिक स्थावर धन केँ दान एवं बेचबाक श्रधिकार नहि छलैक। मात्र श्रोहि स्थावर धनक उपभोग करबाक श्रधिकारिणी होइत छलीह।

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१. लिखनावलीक सम्वन्ध मे देखू लेखकक निबन्ध, मिथिला मिहिर, १५ दिसम्बर, १९६८, पृ० १० एवं २०।
२. विद्यापति : लिखनावली, डॉ० इन्द्रकान्त झा द्वारा सम्पादित तथा प्रकाशित, १९६९ ई०, पृ० ४९।
३. विभागसार, पृ० २०।
४. वएह—

भ्रातृदायं मृते पत्यौ विन्यसेत्स्त्री स्थिता।
श्रपुत्रा शयनं भर्त्तुः पालयन्ती व्रते स्थिता।
भुञ्जीतामरणाक्षान्ता दायादा ऊर्ध्वमाप्नुयुः ॥

५. वएह, पृ० २२; विस्तृत वर्णनक हेतु देखू हमर शोध-रत्नाकर, पृ० १८-१९।

विद्यापति स्त्रीधन ग्रहण व्यवस्था प्रकरण मे देवलक वचन उद्धृत करैत कहैत छथि जे—

वृत्तिराभरणं शुल्कं लाभश्च स्त्रीधनं भवेत् ।
भोक्त्री च स्वयमेवेयं पतिर्नर्हिह्यनापदि ।।[1]

अर्थात् वृत्त कही वा भरण कही, शुल्क कही वा लाभ सब स्त्रीधन थिक । एहि धनक भोग करयवाली ओ स्वयं छथि । विपत्तिक स्थिति नहि हो तँ स्वामी पर्यन्त ओहि धनक भोक्ता नहि भऽ सकैत छथि । मुदा आपत्ति मे पति स्त्रीधन लऽ सकैत छथि । वृथा दानक हेतु यदि पति स्त्रीधन लेथि तँ स्त्री केँ सूद सहित घुमा देबाक चाही । पुत्रक कष्ट के निवारण करबाक लेल स्त्रीधन लेल जा सकैत अछि । वृथा दान मे विभागक निषेध अछि मुदा पुत्रक प्रतिकारक लेल दानक विभाग कएल जा सकैत अछि । स्त्रीक आज्ञा प्राप्त कऽ केँ प्रीतिपूर्वक स्त्रीधनक भोग भऽ सकैत अछि । तथापि मूलधन दऽ देबाक चाही । एना कएला सँ ओ सदिखन धनवान रहैत अछि ।[2] मुदा विद्यापतिक कथन छनि जे—

व्याधितं व्यसनस्थं च धनिकैश्चापि पीडितम् ।
ज्ञातिनिसृष्टं संसृत्या दद्यादात्मेच्छया हितः ।।
व्याध्यादि गुप्तं पत्यादिकं विज्ञाय
भार्याया यत्स्वधनं दत्तं तत्स्वेच्छया दद्यादित्यर्थः ।।[3]

अर्थात् स्वामीक रुग्णावस्था में, विपत्ति मे, धनिकक द्वारा पीड़ित भेला पर वा सम्बन्धी द्वारा त्याग कऽ देला पर स्वेच्छा सँ स्त्री अपन स्त्रीधन दऽ देथि । एहि हेतु विद्यापति याज्ञवल्क्यक कथन केँ उद्धृत करैत कहैत छथि जे दुर्भिक्ष मे धर्मकार्य मे एवं व्याधि मे स्वामी जे स्त्रीधन लेथि ओ घुमाएब आवश्यक नहि अछि ।[4] मुदा विद्यापतिक कथन छनि जे यदि स्त्री केँ भोजन एवं वस्त्र नहि देथि तँ ओ स्वामीक रोग छोड़ेबा मे जे

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१. विभागसार, पृ० २१ ।

२. वएह—

वृथा दाने च स्त्रियै दद्यात्सवृद्धिकम् ।
पुत्रार्त्तिहरणे चापि स्त्रीधनं भोक्तुमर्हति ।।
वृथा दाने विभागनिषेधः पुत्रप्रतीकारार्थं दानविभागौ कार्यावित्यर्थः ।।
मूलमेव सदाप्यः स्यात्सदा स धनवान्भवेत् ।।

३. वएह ।

४. वएह, पृ० २२—दुर्भिक्षे धर्मकार्ये च व्याधौ च प्रतिरोधके ।
गृहीतं स्त्रीधनं भर्त्ता न स्त्रियो दातुमर्हति ।।

धन देने होथि ओहो धन पुनः लऽ सकैत छथि।[1] ठीक ओहिना दू स्त्रीवाला पति जाहि स्त्री सँ प्रीतिपूर्वक स्त्रीधन लेने होथि ओकरा सँ ऋतुमती भेला पर रमण नहि करथि तँ स्मार्त्त कें चाही जे वलपूर्वक ओ धन स्त्री कें दिआय देथि।[2]

एतावता ज्ञात होइत अछि जे स्त्रीधनक उपभोग कएनिहार पति कें स्त्रीक लालन-पालनक भार वहन करब कर्तव्य भऽ जाइत छलनि। एकर अतिरिक्त विद्यापतिकालीन मिथिला मे स्त्रीक विपत्तिक आधार स्त्रीधन छलनि। ओ अपन स्त्रीधनक उपयोग करबा मे स्वतन्त्र रहैत छलीह।

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१. वएह, तदा स्त्रियै ग्रासवस्त्रम् न ददाति तदा पतिव्याधिनिस्सारार्थमपिस्त्रिया दत्तं स्वधनं तदपि ग्राह्यम्।

२. वएह--

द्विभार्य इत्याभजनहेतुर्विशेषणम्।
ऋतौ न गच्छेत्तांतदा स्त्रिया प्रीत्यापूर्वेक्त
तिस्त्रिभिर्बलादेव स दाप्यः ॥

विद्यापतिमे उत्प्रेक्षा

डा० श्रीकिशोरनाथझा

भापाक द्वारा अभिव्यक्तिक दूटा प्रमुख प्रकार दृष्टिमे अबैत अछि। एकटा तँ सकल साधारणक बुझबाक योग्य,— यथार्थ विपयक चित्रणलेल व्यावहारिक तथा पारिभाषिक भापाक परिमार्जित प्रयोग, जे दैनन्दिन व्यवहारमे तथा दर्शन ओ व्याकरणक ग्रन्थ सभमे प्रचुरतया पाओल जाइत अछि। आओर दोसर काव्यक भाषा होइत अछि जे सुकुमार, सुन्दर ओ मंगलमय रहि विलक्षण अर्थ-व्यंजनाक द्वारा विपयक प्रतिपादन में पूर्ण क्षम एवं तत्पर देखल गेल अछि। एहि कवि--भापा कें ओ शक्ति सहजहिं प्राप्त छैक जाहिसँ साधारणो बात असाधारण बनि जाइत अछि आओर असाधारणो विपय सर्वजनवेद्य भए जाइत अछि। भारतक प्राचीनतम भापा संस्कृतक साहित्यमे आलोचकलोकनि कहल अछि जे विच्छित्तिविशेपक जनक वाक्य समूह काव्य थिक। अभिप्राय ई जे साहित्यक माध्यमसँ काव्य-रसिकक हृदय वचनसँ नहि कहबाक योग्य लोकोत्तर आनन्दसँ अनायास प्रफुल्ल भए जाइत अछि (इएह प्रसन्नता साहित्यक परिभापामे विच्छित्ति शब्दसँ कहल जाइत अछि) आओर विषयक ज्ञान तँ होइतहि छैक। मुदा दर्शनक भाषासँ विपयक अवगतिएटा होइत छैक आनन्दांशक भान ओहिसँ कदापि सम्भव नहि छैक।

एहि विच्छित्ति-विशेपक व्यंजना लए भापाकें देश, काल, पात्र, वक्ता तथा प्रकरण आदि विविध उपकरणक संघटन करए पड़ैत छैक। जाहिमे अलंकार मुख्यतम अछि। अलंकारसँ भापामे अभिव्यक्तिक चमत्कार ओहिना बढ़ैत छैक जेना कुलवधूक आदर लज्जासँ।[1] प्रत्येक सहृदय चिरकालसँ एकर अनुभव करैत आएल छथि। संस्कृत साहित्यक एकटा एहनो युग छलैक जखन काव्यक सर्वस्वे अलंकार रहए। अलंकार शास्त्रक पहिल आचार्य भामहक काव्यालंकार एकर प्रमाण रूपमे विद्वानक समक्ष प्रस्तुत अछि। हिनक कथ्य छैन्हि जे विना अलंकारक ललनाक सुन्दरो मुखाकृति आकर्षक नहि होइत अछि "न कान्तमपि निर्भूषं विभाति वनिताननम्"।[2] तें काव्यक प्रधान तत्त्व अलंकार कें मानवाक थिक (एहि परम्पराक संरक्षणमे "वक्रोक्तिः काव्यजीवितम्" कहि आचार्य कुन्तक अपन मौलिक विचार प्रस्तुत करबालेल वक्रोक्ति-

१—अन्यदाभूषणं पुंसां क्षमा लज्जेव योषिताम् (माघ)

२—काव्यालङ्कार १-१३

जीवित ग्रंथक प्रणयन कएल अछि) अतएव भारतीय साहित्य परम्पराक साक्ष्य पाबि ई कहब अनुचित नहि होएत जे काव्यमे अलंकार-योजना अनिवार्य जकाँ पुरातने समयसँ आबि रहल अछि। आधुनिको समयमे कोनो ने कोनो रूपमे ओकर स्थिति छैके। भने आब रसक मुख्यता रहओ तेँ अलंकार हटि नहि सकैत अछि। मैथिली साहित्यक आदि–अहिसँ ई तेना ने दूध पानि जकाँ घुलिमिल गेल अछि जे अपन सादर अधिकार सभदिन बनओने रहत।

महाकवि कालिदास उपमा कहबामे निपुण छलाह। एकर ई अर्थ कथमपि नहि बुझबाक थिक जे ओ अपन काव्यसभमे आन अलंकारक चर्चे नहि कएल अछि। अथवा आन कवि उपमालेल लेखनीए नहि उठाओल अछि। अपितु एतबा बुझबाक थिक जे कालिदासक काव्यमे उपमाक प्रयोग प्रचुरतया भेल अछि आ तखन असंगत वा अरुचिकर नहि भए अधिक चमत्कारी तथा सर्वगुणसम्पन्न अछि। एहिना मैथिलीक प्रधान तथा प्राचीन महाकवि विद्यापति अपन पदावलीमे सुन्दरीक विभिन्न शृंगार दशाक वर्णनक प्रसंगमे उत्प्रेक्षाक अद्‌भुत छटाक प्रदर्शन कएल अछि। यद्यपि हिनक गीत सभमे आनो आनो अलंकार यथास्थान संयोजित अछि किन्तु उत्प्रेक्षाक समावेश अधिक मनोहर तथा विशेष आह्‌लादक भेल अछि। विद्यापतिक पद सभमे उत्प्रेक्षाक प्रदर्शनसँ पहिने एहिठाम उत्प्रेक्षासँ पाठककें अवगत होएब आवश्यक बूझि ओकर लक्षण कहि पछाति विद्यापतिक पद सभक अर्थक संग उत्प्रेक्षाक चमत्कार विवरण विधिसँ प्रस्तुत कएल जाइत अछि।

जाहिठाम उपमेयकें (वर्णनीय वस्तुकें) उपमान रूपमे संभावना कएल जाए ओहन ठाम चमत्कार रहने उत्प्रेक्षा अलंकार होइत अछि। असंभवके मनहि मन सम्भव बनाएब सम्भावना कहबैत अछि। एहिमे आंशिक संशयक सन्निवेश रहैत छैक। समान बलवान दू विरुद्ध धर्मसँ युक्त संशय होइत अछि। जेना सुखाएल ठाढ़ खुट्टाकें अन्हार मे देखला पर संशय होइत अछि जे ई खुट्टा थिक वा क्यो व्यक्ति ठाढ़ अछि। किन्तु संभावनामे संशय रूप ज्ञानक एक अंशमे दृढ़ता तथा अपर अंश में दुर्बलता रहैत छैक। यथा बुझि पड़ैए जे ई खुट्टे थिक, पुरुष नहि--ई संभावना कहाओत। तेँ संशय तथा संभावनामे उक्त रीतिएँ परस्पर भेद बुझबाक चाही।

उपमा आओर उत्प्रेक्षामे तात्त्विक भेद ई अछि जे उपमामे उपमान यथार्थ तथा परिचित रहैत अछि। किन्तु उत्प्रेक्षाक उपमान काल्पनिक अतएव अयथार्थ शुद्ध कए मनगढ़न्त रहैत अछि। आओर की तँ उपमामे उपमेय तथा उपमानमे परस्पर सादृश्यक समन्वय होइत छैक किन्तु उत्प्रेक्षामे उपमेयकें उपमानक रूपमे संभावित कएल जाइत अछि। तेँ उपमा आओर उत्प्रेक्षामे परस्पर भेद बुझबाक थिक। रूपकमे उपमेयमे उपमानक यथार्थतः अभेदारोप होइत छैक, भ्रान्तिमानमे भ्रम रहैत छैक आओर अतिशयोक्तिमे उपमेयक निगीर्यमाण भेला पर अध्यवसायक सिद्धि होइत छैक जे सभ निश्चयात्मक थिक किन्तु उत्प्रेक्षामे आंशिक संशयक अस्तित्वक चर्चा पहिनहि कएल अछि। तेँ एहि अलंकार सभसँ उत्प्रेक्षाक भेद सुस्पष्ट अछि।

"उत्-उर्ध्वगामिनी प्रेक्षा दृष्टिर्यस्याम् सा उत्प्रेक्षा" एहि तरहेँ व्युत्पत्ति कएलापर, कल्पनालोकमे विचरण केनिहार दृष्टि ओकर अर्थ होइत छैक ।

एहि अलंकारक साधारणतः दू भेद होइत अछि—वाच्य तथा प्रतीयमान (व्यंग्य) । काव्यमे यदि जनि, मनु, भानु तथा बुझि पड़ैए आदि उत्प्रेक्षा द्योतक शब्द रहैत छैक तखन ओ वाच्य होइत अछि । किन्तु एकर यदि अभाव छैक मुदा विना एकर आक्षेपेँ अर्थ नहि बैसैत छैक तखन ई प्रतीयमान होइत अछि ।

अर्थमे कतहु जातिक, कतहु गुणक, कतहु क्रियाक तथा कतहु वस्तुक (द्रव्यक) संभावना कएला पर चमत्कारक ज्ञान होइत छैक तेँ उक्त दू प्रकारक उत्प्रेक्षा एहि चारिसँ गुणित कएला पर आठ प्रकारक मोटामोटी होइत अछि । सूक्ष्म दृष्टिएँ विचारलासँ एकरो चारिवर भेद भए जाइत छैक किन्तु ओकर प्रकृतमे उपयोगिता नहि देखि एतए विचारक ओ अंश छोड़ि देल अछि ।

विद्यापति सुन्दरीक नखशिख वर्णनक प्रसंग मे विलक्षण चमत्कारक उत्पादन करैत उत्प्रेक्षाक समावेश अपन पद सभमे एना कएल अछि :—

पीन पयोधर दुबरि गता ।
मेरु उपजल कनक-लता ।।
\+ + +
मुख मनोहर अधर रंगे ।
फूललि मधुरी कमल संगे ।।
लोचन युगल भृंग अकारे ।
मधुक मातलि उड़ए न पारे ।।
भउँहक कथा पूछह जनु ।
मदन जोड़ल काजर धनु ।।२३७।।

सुन्दरीक विशाल उरोज दुर्बल शरीरक संग बुझि पड़ैए जेना मेरु पर्वत पर सुवर्ण लता लतरल हो । सुन्दर मुखाकृतिमे लाल अधर बुझि पड़ैए जेना कमलक संग मधुरी फूल फुलाएल रहए । नयन युगल मधुमत्त भ्रमर जकाँ प्रतीत होइत अछि । कमल तथा मधुरी फूलमे ओ एतेक आसवत अछि जे जेना उड़ए नहि चाहैत अछि । भउँहक टेढ़ होएब बूझि पड़ैए जेना कामदेव काजरक धनुप बनौने होथि । एहि पदमे क्रमशः उरोजमे मेरु पर्वतक, शरीरमे सुवर्णलताक, मुखाकृतिमे कमलक, अधरमे मधुरी फूलक, नयनमे मधुमत्त भ्रमरक तथा भउँहमे काजर-धनुपक रूप वस्तुक संभावना कएल गेल अछि । अन्तिम दू चरणमे "जनु" पद रहने उत्प्रेक्षा वाच्य अछि । किन्तु आन पद सभमे ओ व्यंग्य अछि । एहिना विद्यापतिक निम्न पद्यमे दुर्बल गौर शरीरमे विशाल उरोजक उत्प्रेक्षा सोनाक लत्तीमे फरल श्रीफलसँ कएल गेल अछि—

"कनकलता जनि फरल सिरीफल
वीहि रचल बहु भाँति" ।।२४०।।

वस्तूत्प्रेक्षा कुसुमवान विलास कानन केस सुन्दर रेह ।
निविड़ नीरद रुचिर दरसय अरुन जनि निज देह ।।

क्रियोत्प्रेक्षा आजु देखु गजराजगति वर युवति त्रिजगत सार ।
जनि मदन दर्शित वैजयन्ती विजय कए संसार ।।

क्रियोत्प्रेक्षा शरद शशधर सरिस शोभन वदन लोचन लोल ।
विमल कंचन कमल चढ़ि जनि खेल खंजन जोर ।।
अधर नव पल्लव मनोहर दशन दाड़िम जोति ।
जनि विमल विद्रुम दल सुधारस सींचि धरु गज मोति ।।

जात्युत्प्रेक्षा मधुर हास विकास शोभित करए वचन विलास ।
जनि मत्त कोकिल वेनु वीना नाद त्रिभुवन भास ।।

वस्तूत्प्रेक्षा अमर महिधर सम पयोधर महग मोतिमहार ।
जनि हेम निर्मित शंभुशेखर सुरतरंगिनि धार ।।
" करभ कोमल कर मनोहर जघन युग आरम्भ ।
मदन मल्ल वेश्राम कारन गढ़ल हाटक थम्भ ।।३०।।

नायिकाक सौन्दर्य वर्णन नायकसँ सखी कए रहलि अछि । कामदेवक कौतुक वन ई केश विन्यास थिक तेँ सजल धजल अछि । साधारण वन तथा उद्यानमे भेद होइत छैक । साधारण वनमे प्रकृति प्रदत्त सौंदर्य रहैत छैक मुदा उद्यानमे (विलासकाननमे) व्यक्ति रुचिक अनुकूल ओही वस्तुके सजा धजाके रखैत अछि। तेँ ई कृत्रिम सौंदर्यक भूमि होइछ । सुन्दर मुखाकृति ओहि केशपाशक नीचामे छैक से बुझिपड़ैए जे सघन मेघसँ अरुण अपनाकेँ प्रकाशित करैत होथि । तेँ केशमे मेघक तथा मुखमे अरुणक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि । आइ हाथी जकां चलनिहारि सुन्दरीकेँ देखल जे तीन भुवनक सार थिक । ओ बुझि पड़ल जेना कामदेव सकल संसारमे विजय प्राप्त कए अपन वैजयन्ती फहरबैत होथि । शरदक चन्द्रमा सन सुन्दरीक मुखाकृति छैक, जाहिमे चंचल तथा सुन्दर दू गोट नयन छैक से बुझि पड़ैए जेना स्वच्छ सुवर्णक कमल पर चढ़ि कए खंजन चिड़ैक जोड़ा खेलाइत रहए । चिड़ै स्वभावतः चंचल होइत छैक तथा सुन्दरीक नयनक चांचल्य प्रसिद्ध अछि । तेँ एतए नारीक सम्पूर्ण शरीरमे कामदेवक विजय पताकाक, मुखमे सुवर्ण कमलक तथा नयन युगमे खंजन दम्पतिक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि । ओहि सुन्दरीक अधर किसलय सन रक्तिम एवं मृदुल अछि आओर दशन दाड़िमक बीज सन अरुणाभ धवलिमासँ युक्त अछि से बूझि पड़ैए जेना स्वच्छ विद्रुम दल तथा अमृतसँ सींचल हाथीक उजरा मोति रहए । एतए अधरमे विद्रुम दलक तथा दशनमे सुधासिक्त गजमोतिक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि । स्मितक स्वच्छताक संग ओ सुन्दरी ककरहु सँ आलापो करैत छथि से बुझि पड़ैए जेना वसन्तमे सौरभे मातल

पिकक कूजन रहए अथवा बांसक छिद्रमे हवाक प्रवेशें कलध्वनि होइत रहए अथवा वीणावाद्यक मधुर स्वर रहए। मेरु सन सुन्दर उरोज पर बहुमूल्यक धवल मोतिक हार छलैक से मानू सुवर्णक शिव-चिह्न पर गंगाक धार बहैत रहए।

कनगुरिया आंगुरसँ नीचा तरहत्थीक भाग करभ कहबैत अछि। कवि प्रसिद्ध अछि जे ओ भाग अत्यन्त मसृण तथा मृदुल होइत अछि। तें एतए कहल जाए रहल अछि जे ओकरे सन कोमल तथा सुन्दर ओहि नायिकाक जंघा भाग रहैक मानू कामदेव रूपी पहलवान व्यायाम करबा ले सोनाक थम्भ गढ़ने होथि (मुङरदन रखने होथि)। एहिठाम क्रमशः कामिनिक वचन में पिकनिनाद, वेणुध्वनि तथा वीणाक स्वरक, उरोजमे सुवर्णगिरिक, मोतिकहारमे गंगाक धारक तथा जघनयुगमे कामदेवक व्यायाम साधन (मुद्गर) क सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि। सम्पूर्ण गीतमे जनि शब्दक हनेर सभठाम वस्तुक उत्प्रेक्षा वाच्ये अछि व्यंग्य नहि।

करिवर राजहंस गति गामिनि चललिह संकेत गेहा।
कनक दण्ड दामिनि नव मंजरि जनि अति सुन्दर देहा॥
जलधर चमर तिमिर जनि कुन्तल अलक भृंग शैवाले।
भौंह मदनधनु भमर भुजंगिनि जनि अधविधुवर भाले॥
नलिन चकोर शफरि सब मधुकर मृगि खंजन जनि आँखी।
नासा तिलफुल गरुड़चंचु जनि गिधिनी श्रवण विशेषी॥
हेममुकुर शशि सरसिज जनि मुख अधर विम्ब जनि पारे।
दशन कुन्द मोतिक माला जनि कम्बु कण्ठ आकारे॥
सिरिफल ताल सुवर्ण कलश गिरि जनि कुचमण्डल साजा।
बाहु मृणालपाश वल्लरि जनि सिंह डमरु जनि माझा॥
लोम लतावलि शैवल कज्जल जनि पिपीलिका पांती।
नाभि सरोवर जनि नितम्ब जनि गज कुम्भस्थल भांती॥
करिकर कदलि ऊरुयुग जनि थलपंकज जनि पद पानी।
नख दाड़िम विज इन्दु रतन जनि जनि पियूष पिकबानी॥८९॥

अभिसारिका नायिकाक सौंदर्य वर्णन करैत विद्यापति कहैत छथि हाथी तथा राजहंसक गतिसँ चलनिहारि सुन्दरी अभिसार करए बिदा भेलि। ओकर शरीर मानू सोनाक छड़ी रहए अथवा बिजुरी रहए अथवा नवीन मंजरी रहए। ओकर केश राशि बुझू सघन मेघ रहए अथवा चामर हो अथवा अन्हार रहए। केशक विन्यास जे कएने छलि से जेना भ्रमर अथवा सेमार हो भउँह मानू कामदेवक धनुष रहए अथवा कारी साँप रहए तथा तिलक बिन्दु मानू अर्द्धचन्द्र कपार पर बैसल होथि। ओकर आँखि बूझि पड़ैए जेना नील कमल रहए अथवा चकोर अथवा माँछ अथवा मधुकर अथवा खंजन हो। ओकर नाक जेना तिलक फूल हो अथवा गरुड़क चंचु हो ओकर मुखाकृति जेना सुवर्णक दर्पण हो अथवा चन्द्रमा होथि अथवा कमल

हो। ओकर अधर जेना तिलकोरक फड़ रहए। ओकर दन्त पंक्ति जेना कुन्दक फूल हो अथवा उजरा मोतिक माला रहए तथा कंठ जेना शंख हो। ओकर उरोज जेना श्रीफल, तारक फल, सुवर्ण कलश अथवा कनकाचल हो। ओकर वाहु जेना मृणालक फांस रहए अथवा कोनो लत्ती रहए तथा मध्य भाग जेना सिंहक कटि रहए। ओकर शरीरमे जे रोम देखार छैक—त्रिवलि आदि से; जेना सेमार रहए अथवा काजर रहए अथवा करिया चुट्टीक धारी रहए, नाभि जेना सरोवर हो, नितम्ब जेना हाथीक मस्तक रहए तथा ऊरु जेना हाथीक सूंढ़ अथवा करड़िक थम्ह रहए। आओर हाथ पएर जेना थलकमल रहए। ओकर नख सभ जेना दाड़िमक बीज रहए अथवा चन्द्रमा रहथि अथवा रत्न सभ हो, तेहन प्रतीत होइत अछि। तथा वचन जेना अमृत हो अथवा पिकस्वर हो तेहन प्रतीत होइत छलि; ओ अभिसारिका। एहिठाम अर्थहिसँ स्पष्ट अछि जे एक एक अंगक अनेक उपमानसँ उत्प्रेक्षा कएल गेल अछि। एहि प्रकारें सौंदर्यक अतिशयता व्यंग्य अछि।

सजनी अपरुप पेखल रामा।
कनकलता अवलम्बन ऊगल हरिनहीन हिमधामा॥
नयन नलिन दओ अंजन रंजइ भौंह विभंग विलासा।
चकित चकोर जोर विधि बांधल केवल काजर पासा॥
गिरिवर गरुअ पयोधर परसित गिम गजमोतिक हारा।
काम[१] कम्बु भरि कनक शम्भु परि ढारत सुरसरि धारा॥६२९॥

नायिकाक सौन्दर्यक नखशिख वर्णनक क्रममे एहि पदक द्वारा विद्यापति कहैत छथि जे सभटा अपूर्व देखल अछि। नायिकाक शरीररूप सोनाक लत्तीमे निष्कलंक चन्द्रमाक उदय भेल अछि। ओकर दूनू आंखि नीलकमल जकाँ प्रतीत होइत अछि जे काजरसँ रंजित अछि। तथा भउँहक कुटिल विकास बूझि पड़ैए जेना विधाता काजरक फाँसमे चकित चकोर दम्पतिकेँ बान्हि रखने होथि। पहाड़ सन विशाल उरोज युगल केँ स्पर्श करैत जे गरदनिमे उजरा हार--गज मुक्ताक माला अछि से बूझू जे कामदेव शंखमे गंगाजल लए सुवर्णक शिव चिह्न पर ढारि रहल होथि। एहिठाम शरीरमे सुवर्णलताक, मुखाकृतिमे निष्कलंक चन्द्रक, नयनमे नील कमलक तथा चकोर युगलक, काजर रेखामे फाँसक, पयोधरमे सुवर्णक शिव-चिह्नक, गरदनिमे शंखक तथा उजरा हारमे गंगाक धारक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि। परन्तु उत्प्रेक्षाक द्योतक पद नहि छैक। तेँ अलंकार व्यंग्य अछि वाच्य नहि। विचारणीय ई अछि जे एहिठाम अति-शयोक्ति सँ उत्प्रेक्षाक पुष्टि होइत छैक। कनकलताक द्वारा नायिकाक शरीर आओर निष्कलंक चन्द्रक द्वारा ओकर मुखाकृति निगीर्यमाण छैक। किन्तु कनकलता तथा निष्कलंक चन्द्र असम्भव वस्तु भेने ओकर सम्भावना कएल जाए सकैत अछि, ओ

१. तुलनीय संस्कृत—स्तनकनकशंभुं स्नपयति।

यथार्थ उपमान नहि भए सकैत अछि । तेँ अतिशयोक्ति सँ अनुप्राणित उत्प्रेक्षाक अंश एतए बुझबाक थिक ।

दोसर विषय ई भेल जे मिथिलामे शालग्रामकेँ शंखसँ जल ढारबाक व्यवहार अदौसँ प्रचलित अछि किन्तु शिवकेँ शंखसँ जल देबाक परम्परा नहि अछि से तैखन संगत होएत यदि एहू अंशमे सम्भावने मानी, वास्तविकता पर नै जाइ । एहिसँ अलंकारक अंशमे पुष्टिए होइत छैक हानि नहि । तेँ अर्थ संगतिमे विशेष क्षति नहि मानबाक चाही ।

"सुन्दर वदन चारु अरु लोचन काजर रंजित भेला ।
कनक कमल मह काल भुजंगिनि, संगहि खंजन खेला ।।
नाभि विवर उदगत रोमावलि व्यालि निसास पिपासा ।
नासा खगपति चंचु भरमवस कुचगिरि सन्धि निवासा ।।
तीन वान त्रिभुवनमे तेजल वचल रहल दुइ वाने ।
मनमथ दारुन वधए रसिक जन सोपल तोहर नयाने ।।२२।।

विधाता अति सुन्दरी नायिकक निर्माण कएल अछि । सुन्दर मुखाकृति तथा काजर कएल आँखि मानू सुवर्णक कमलमे काल भुजंगिनि हो, तथा ओकर संगहि खंजनक जोड़ा खेलाइत रहए (खेलाएब क्रियासँ चांचल्यक अतिशय व्यंग्य होइत अछि) । नाभिसँ रोम लतावलि निकलि रहल अछि से बूझू सर्पिणी श्वास लेवा लए बीहरिसँ बहार होइत रहए । ओ सर्पिणी नाकरूपी गरुड़क चंचु देखि भ्रमसँ उरोज युगल रूप दू पहाड़क बीचमे नुकाए रहल हो । महाकवि आंखि केँ खंजनसँ उत्प्रेक्षा कइओ कए तृप्ति लाभ नहि कएल । तेँ पुनः आँखिक उत्प्रेक्षामे कहैत छथि जे कामदेवकेँ पांचटा वाण छैन्हि से कवि प्रसिद्ध अछि ताहिमे सँ तीनटा वाण तँ तीनू भुवनमे अपन पसार ले फेकि देल अछि किन्तु दूटा जे अवशेष रहल से एकरे (नायिकाक) दूनू लोचन थिक ।

एहिठाम मुखाकृतिमे कनक पद्मक, काजररेखामे सापक, नयनमे अँजनक, नाभिमे विवरक, रोमावलीमे सर्पिणीक, नाकमे गरुड़-चंचुक, उरोजमे पर्वतक पुनश्च नयनमे कामशरक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि । जाहिसँ रूपक अलंकारहुक एतए पुष्टि होइत अछि । आओर उत्प्रेक्षा एतए प्रतीयमान अछि ।

"सुन्दर वदन सिन्दुर-विन्दु सामर चिकुर भार ।
जनि रवि शशि संगहि उगल पाछु कए अंधकार ।।
चंचल लोचन बांक निहारए अंजन शोभा पाय ।
जनि इन्दीवर पवन पेलल अलिभरे उलटाय ।।
उनत उरोज चीर झँपावय पुनु पुनु दरसाय ।
जइओ जतने गोअए चाहए हिम गिरि नहि नुकाय ।।"२३।।

विद्यापति नायिकाक सौन्दर्यक प्रसंगमे कहैत छथि जे सुन्दर मुखाकृति, सिन्दुरक ठोप आ तकर पाछूमे केश पाश लगैत अछि जेना चन्द्रमा तथा सूर्य एकठाम उदित भए अन्हार कें पाछां हँटा देने होथि। ओकर चंचल आँखि कुटिल तथा काजरसँ रंजित रहने बूझि पड़ैए जेना नीलकमल पवनसँ प्रेरित भए भ्रमरक भरें उनटि गेल हो। विशाल उरोज साड़ीसँ झाँपल अछि तथापि कार्यमे संलग्न भेला पर अथवा आने आने कारण सँ बेरि बेरि देखार भए जाइत अछि से एहेन लगैत अछि जेना कतबो प्रयास करू मुदा हिमालय पर्वत नुकाएल नहि रहि सकैत अछि—एतए क्रमशः मुखाकृतिमे चन्द्रक, सिन्दुर विन्दुमे सूर्यक, केशपाशमे अंधकारक, आँखिमे नीलकमलक, अंजनमे भ्रमरक, नयनक चांचल्यमे पवनक प्रेरणाक तथा उरोजमे हिमालय पर्वतक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि। आदिसँ चारि चरणमे अलंकार वाच्य अछि किन्तु अन्तिम दू चरणमे ओ व्यंग्य अछि।

"कुच मण्डल सिरि हेरि कनक गिरि लाजें दिगन्तर गेल।
केओ अइसन कह सेहो न जुगुति सह अचल सचल कइसे भेल।।
मांझ खीनि तनु भरें भांगि जाए जनु विधि अनुसए भल साजि।
नील पटोर आनि अति से सुदृढ़ जनि जतन सिरिजु रोमराजि।।२४।।"

विद्यापति नायिकाक सौंदर्य वर्णनमे कहैत छथि जे सुवर्णक पहाड़ सुन्दरीक स्तनक शोभाकें देखि स्वयं लज्जित भए आन देश पड़ाए गेल—ई जे केओ कहैत छथि, से संगत नहि बुझि पड़ैत अछि। हेतु जे पहाड़ अचल कहवैत अछि, ओ सचल नहि भए सकैत अछि। आ पड़ाएव तँ सचलक धर्म थिकैक, ओ अचलमे सम्भव नै छैक। तें हमरा बुझि पड़ैए जेना नायिकाक कटिभाग नितान्त क्षीण छैक अतएव अनुखन भय छैक जे सुवर्ण पहाड़क (विशाल उरोजक) भार ओ सहि सकए वा नहि—एहि संशयसँ विधाता नील पटोरसँ कटिकें बान्हि देल अछि आ ओ त्रिवलिमे रोमराजिक संग्रह कए देल अछि जे भार थम्हला पर ओ रोमराजि सुवर्णक पहाड़कें यथावत् रखवामे रस्सी जकाँ सहायक होएत। एतावता सिद्ध भेल जे सुवर्णक पहाड़ कतहु पड़ाएल नहि प्रत्युत सुन्दरीक वक्षहि पर स्थित अछि। एतए "सिरिजु" एवं "भांगि जाए" आदि क्रिया पदसँ युक्त भए चमत्कारक प्रदर्शन करैत अछि तैं क्रियोत्प्रेक्षा वाच्य अछि। एकठाम एहिना विद्यापति कहैत छथि जे नितम्ब एतेक विशाल छैक जे नायिका वहुत मन्दगतिएँ चलि रहलि अछि तथा कटिप्रान्त एहि नायिकाक वहुत क्षीण छैक। अतएव कामदेव ओहि कटिभागकें नितम्बक भार जँ नहि थाह्मल भेलैक तँ टुटि कए खसि ने पड़ए एहि सन्देहक निवारण लए त्रिवलिक व्याजें रोमलताक निर्माण कए ओहिसँ कटिकें ओंझराए देल अछि जँ कटिभाग टुटहु लागत तँ त्रिवलिक रोमलता किछुओ काल अवश्य लटपटा कए भार थम्हि सकत। एहि भावक पद ई थिक :—

"गुरु नितम्ब भरे चलए न पारए मांझ खीनि मनिमाई।
भांगि जाइति मनसिज धरि राखलि त्रिवलि लता अरुझाई"।।२१।।

एहिना—"भान भेल मोहि माझ खीनि धनि
कुच सिरिफल भरे भांगि जात जनि" ॥२३॥

एहि पदमे विद्यापति नायकक मुँहसँ कहबैत छथि जे कुच रूपी श्रीफलक भारसँ जेना क्षीण कटि टुटि कए खसि नै पड़ए से बूझि पड़ैत अछि। एहूठाम कुचयुगमे श्रीफलक तथा कटिक क्षीणतासँ ओकर टुटबाक उत्प्रेक्षा "जनि" शब्दक रहने वाच्य अछि। ई क्रियोत्प्रेक्षा कहाओत।

"ननुआ नयन नलिनि जनि अनुपम वंक निहारइ थोरा।
जनि शृँखलमे खगवर बान्हल दीठि नुकाएल मोरा॥
आध वदन ससि विहसि देखाओलि आध पिहलि निअ बाहू।
किछुएक भाग बलाहक झांपल किछुक गरासल राहू॥
करयुग पिहित पयोधर अंचल चंचल देखि चित भेला।
हेम कमल जनि अरुनित चंचल मिहिरतर निन्द गेला" ॥६२७॥

नायक कहैत छथि जे कमलिनी सन सुन्दर नयन द्वारा "ओ" हमरा दिस क्षणमात्रले तकलक बूझू खंजन शृङ्खलामे बान्हल अछि तथापि नुकाए रहल हो। "ओ" स्मितहास कए अपन मुखाकृतिक आधा भाग बांहिसँ झांपि लेलक से बूझू पूर्णचन्द्रक आधा भाग मेघमे छपल छल आ अर्धचन्द्रमे ग्रहण लागल छल। आंचरसँ झांपल उरोज युगल पर "ओ" अपन हाथ दूनू रखने छलि जाहिसँ चित्त चंचल भए गेलैक बूझू सुवर्ण कमल चंचल सूर्यक अरुणिमा पर सूति रहल हो। एहिठाम नयनमे खंजनक, मुखमे चन्द्रक, बाहुमे राहुक, उरोजमे सुवर्ण कमलक तथा तरहत्थीमे बालारुणक सम्भावना वाच्य अछि।

"कुण्डल तिलक विराज मुख शोभित सिन्दुर विन्दु।
हेमलतामे समारु विधि कवि रवि तारा इन्दु॥
इन्दुवदनि धनि नयन विशाला।
कमल कलित जनि मधुकर माला॥"

× × ×

"वेनी विमल विराज तनु रस कुसुमावलि हार।
श्याम भुजंग देखि कहु कियो काम परहार॥
कम्बु कण्ठ मृणाल भुज वलित पयोधर भार।
कनक कलस रसे पूरि रहु संचित मदन भण्डार॥"३०८॥

मुखाकृति तिलक, कुण्डल तथा सिन्दुरक विन्दुसँ शोभित अछि से मानू विधाता सूर्य, चन्द्रमा तथा ताराके सोनाक लत्तीमे सजाओल अछि। ओकर मुखाकृतिमे दूनू आँखि बूझू कमल पर भ्रमर समूह रहए। माथपर सुन्दर वेणी अछि तथा गरदनिमे फूलक

माला अछि से मानू कामदेव कृष्णसर्प पर वाणक प्रहार कएने होथि। शंखसन गरदनि, मृणाल सन बाहु तथा उरोजक भार मानू कामदेवक भण्डारमे रससँ भरल सोनाक कलश रहए। एतए क्रमशः शरीरमे सुवर्णलताक, सिन्दुर विन्दुमे सूर्यक, कुण्डलमे ताराक, तिलकमे चन्द्रक, मुखाकृतिमे कमलक, आँखिमे भ्रमरक, वेणीमे कृष्ण सर्पक, हारमे वाणक तथा उरोजमे रसपूरित कनक कलशक उत्प्रेक्षा व्यंग्य अछि। केवल आँखिक उत्प्रेक्षा "जनि" शब्द रहने वाच्य अछि।

"जोरि भुजयुग मोरि वेढ़ल, ततहि वदन सुछन्द।
दाम चम्पक काम पूजल, जइसे सारद चन्द।
उरहि अंचल झांपि चंचल, आध पयोधर हेरु।
पवन पराभव सरद घन जनु, वेकत कएल सुमेरु" ॥६२८॥

नायिका अपन बांहि मोरिकए मुँह झांपि लेलक अछि, से बूझू कामदेव चम्पाक फूलसँ शरदचन्द्रक पूजा कएल अछि। चंचल भए ओ आंचरसँ उरोजकें झपैत अछि तथा आधा देखारो भए जाइत छैक से बूझू वायुक झोंकमे शरदकालिक मेघक उड़िया गेला पर मेघसँ झांपल सुमेरु व्यक्त भए गेल हो। एतए क्रियोत्प्रेक्षा वाच्य अछि। एतए बांहिमे चम्पाकुसुमक, मुखमे चन्द्रक, आंचरमे शरद् घनक तथा उरोजमे सुमेरुक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि।

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विद्यापति विपरीत रतिक वर्णनमे उत्प्रेक्षाक अद्भुत छटा विविध रूपमे देखाओल अछि। जेना—

"आकुल चिकुर वेढ़िल मुख शोभ
राहु कएल शशि मण्डल लोभ
कुच विपरीत विलम्बित हार।
कनक कलश वम दूधक धार॥
पिय मुख सुमुखि चुमय तजि ओज।
चांद अधोमुख पिवए सरोज॥
फूजल केश माल धरु रंग।
जनि यमुना मिलु गंग तरंग॥
वदन सोहाओन श्रम जल विन्दु।
मदन मोति लए पूजल इन्दु" ॥५०२॥

विद्यापति एहि पदमे रतिक सांगोपांग चित्रण कएल अछि। जाहिमे उत्प्रेक्षाक छटा दर्शनीय अछि। ई कहैत छथि नायिकाक मुखाकृति पर अस्तव्यस्त भेल केश राशि छिरिआएल अछि से लगैए जेना राहु सम्पूर्ण चन्द्रमण्डलक लोभसँ चन्द्रक

निकट पहुँचल होथि । उरोज युगलक स्पर्श करैत उजरा हार लटकि रहल छैक जेना सोनाक कलशसँ दूधक धार बहैत हो । सुन्दरी प्रौढ़तासँ प्रियतमक मुखमे चुम्बन दए रहलि अछि से बूझू चन्द्रमा मुंह नीचा कए कुमुदिनीक मधुपान करैत होथि । केशराशि पुनः गोराइसँ संयुक्त अछि हेतु जे कपार पर छिरिआएल अछि से मानू यमुना गंगाक तरंगमे मिलैत होथि । नायिकाक मुखाकृति पर सुरतक श्रमसँ घामक विन्दुसभ उत्पन्न भए रहल छैक से बूझू कामदेव मोतिसँ चन्द्रमाक पूजा करैत होथि— एहिठाम क्रमशः केशमे राहुक, मुखाकृतिमे चन्द्रमण्डलक, प्रियतमक मुखाकृतिमे कुमुदिनीक, चुम्बनमे मधुपानक, केशक छिरिआएबमे यमुना नदीक, गौर कपारमे गंगाक तरंगक तथा घर्म विन्दुमे मोतिक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि । एहिठाम सर्वत्र उत्प्रेक्षा प्रतीयमान अछि; केवल आठम ओ नवम चरणमे ओ वाच्य अछि हेतु जे ओहिमे जनि पदक समावेश अछि ।

"गोर तनु हिमधाम वदनी, श्याम सुन्दर नाह रे ।
जनि नील निरद उपर, चमकत दामिनी अवगाह रे ।।
पीठ पर अतिश्याम वेणी, निरखि ऐसन भान रे ।
जनि अजर हाटक पाति करगहि, कलम लिखु पचवान रे ।।"

विद्यापति राधाकृष्णक विपरीत रतिक प्रसंगमे उत्प्रेक्षा करैत कहैत छथि जे कृष्णक ऊपर गौरवर्ण चन्द्रमुखी राधा कोना प्रतीत होइत छथि जेना श्यामवर्णक सघन मेघमे बिजुरी चमकैत रहए । राधाक पीठपर केशक जुट्टी जे लटकि रहल अछि से जड़ि मोट आ छिप पातर रहने बुझि पड़ैए जेना कामदेव ओकरे कलम बनाए नायिकाक पीठ के कागज बूझि किछु लिखि रहल होथि ।

एहि पदमे राधामे गोराइ रहने विजुरीक, कृष्णमे सघन मेघक, केशक विन्यासमे कलमक तथा नायिकाक पीठमे सुवर्णक कागजक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि जे जनि पदेँ द्योत्य अछि । अतएव क्रियोत्प्रेक्षा एतए वाच्य अछि ।

एकठाम विपरीत रतिक वर्णनमे कवि कहैत छथि जे नायिका विपरीत रतिमे संलग्न अछि तथा नायक ओकर उरोज युगल अपन दूनू हाथसँ पकड़ने अछि से मानू ई पहाड़ हमरे हृदयपर ने खसि पड़ए से बुझि नायक ओकरा हाथसँ रोकि देने हो । सुरत क्रियाजन्य श्रमसँ मुखाकृतिपर घामक विन्दुसभ भासित भए रहल छैक से बूझि पड़ैए जेना कमलक फूलमे मोति फरल रहए । तावता मुखाकृतिमे कमलक तथा घामक बिन्दुमे मोतिक सम्भावना जनि पदसँ वाच्य अछि । एहि भावक पद ई थिक ।

"कुचयुग चारु धराधर जानी
हृदय परत तें पहु देल पानी ।।
घाम विन्दु मुख सुन्दर जोती ।
कनक कमल जनि फरि गेल मोती ।। ४९८ ।।

"फूजलि कवरि अवनत आनन कुच परसए परचारि ।
कामे कमल लए कनक शम्भु जनि पूजल चामर ढारि ।।"
"सामरा लोमलता कालिन्दी हारा सुरसरि धारा ।।४९७।।

विपरीत रतिक प्रसंगमे विद्यापति कहैत छथि जे खुजल केशराशि आओर अवनत मुखाकृति अनावृत स्तनक स्पर्श कए रहल अछि से मानू कामदेव चामर डोला कए कमलक फूलसँ सुवर्ण-शिव-चिह्नक पूजा करैत होथि । कारी रोमावली मानू यमुना थिक आओर उजरा हार गंगा धार हो अर्थात् नायिकाक वक्षपर नाभि भागसँ उर्ध्व मुख अवैत रोमावली तथा ग्रीवासँ अधोमुख भेल उजरा हार जेना गंगा यमुनाक संगम हो । एतए केश राशिमे चामरक, मुख मे कमलक तथा उरोजमे सुवर्ण शिव-चिह्नक सम्भावना "जनि" पद रहने वाच्य अछि । "लोमलतामे" यमुनाक तथा हारमे गंगाधाराक सम्भावना व्यंग्य अछि ।

"वदन झपावए अलकत भार ।
चान्द मण्डल जनि मिलए अन्धार ।।
लम्वित शोभए हार विलोल ।
मुदित मनोभव खेल हिंडोल ।।"
"माल किंकिनी कर मधुरी राव
जनि जयतूर मनोभव बाज ।। ४९९ ।।"

विपरीत रतिक समयमे केशराशिसँ मुखाकृति झाँपल भए जाइत छैक से मानू चन्द्र-मण्डल अन्हारक संग मिलि गेल हो । नायिकाक गरदनिसँ उजरा हार लटकि रहल छैक से मानू कामदेव आनन्दसँ हिंडोल पर झुलैत होथि । नायिकाक पएरक नूपुर वाजि रहल छैक से मानू कामदेवक जयघोप भए रहल अछि। एतए केशराशिमे अन्धकारक, मुखाकृतिमे चन्द्रमण्डलक, हारमे हिंडोलक तथा नूपुरमे जयतूरक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि, जे वाच्य अछि ।

"केश कुसुम छिरिआएल फूजि ताराएं तिमिर छाड़ि हलु पूजि
हेरि पयोधर मनसिज आधि शंभु अधोगति धएल समाधि ।।५००।।

नायिका केश विन्यास खोपामे फूल गांथि कएने रहए। विपरीत रतिक समय ओ खुजि कए छिरिआए गेलैक। तकरा विद्यापति उत्प्रेक्षा करैत छथि जे अन्धकार पूजा कएलाक बाद तारा के निर्माल्य फूल जकां फेंकि देल अछि। ओकर उरोज देखि कामदेवहुँ के मनोविकार होअए लगलैन्हि ओ बूझि पड़ैए जेना शिव मुँह नीचा कए कें समाधि नेने होथि। एहि पदमे केश कुसुममे ताराक तथा पयोधरमे अधोमुख भेल शंभुक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि।

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महाकवि विद्यापति सुरत क्रियाक प्रसिद्ध अंश नख-क्षतक उत्प्रेक्षा विभिन्न पदमे विभिन्न तरहें कएल अछि। जेना—

"पीन पयोधर नखरेख सुन्दर करें बांधह का गोरि॥
मेरु शिखर नव उगि गेल ससधर गुपुति न रहल ए चोरि"॥ २॥

हे सुन्दरि विशाल उरोजपर सुन्दर नखक्षतक चिह्न कें हाथसँ की नुकबैत छी? सुवर्णगिरिक (मेरुक) शिखरपर नवोदित चन्द्रकें के छपाकए राखि सकैत अछि? तें अहांक ई चोरि गुप्त नहि रहि सकैत अछि। रति-संगोपना नायिकाक प्रति सखीक एहि उक्तिमे वस्तुक उत्प्रेक्षा व्यंग्य छैक, उरोजमे मेरुपर्वतक आओर नख-क्षतमे नवोदित चन्द्रक सम्भावना रहनहुँ उत्प्रेक्षा द्योतक शब्द एतए नहि अछि, तें एकरा वाच्य नहि कहल जाए सकैत अछि। एहिना—

"कुच नख लागत सखि जन देख
गिरि कइसे नुकाएत नव ससिरेख॥५१॥

एहि पदमें उपर्युक्त भावहिक पुनः कथन कएल गेल अछि। तें पूर्ववत् अलंकार योजना करबाक थिक। एहि पदक अर्थ थिक जे उरोजपर नख क्षत सखी सभ देखि लेलक अछि। पहाड़पर चन्द्रक नवरेखाकें के छपाए सकैत अछि।

"नखपद सुन्दर पीन पयोधर
कनक संभु जनु केशु पुजला॥३॥"

सुन्दरीक विशाल उरोजपर नख क्षतक चिह्न देखि बूझि पड़ैए जेना सुवर्णक शिव-चिह्नके कियो किंशुक कुसुमसँ पूजा कएने रहए। एहिठाम उरोजमे सुवर्ण शिव-चिह्नक तथा नख क्षतमे किंशुक कुसुमक सम्भावना "जनि" शब्दसँ वाच्य अछि तें ई वाच्य वस्तूत्प्रेक्षा कहाओत।

"पीन-पयोधर नखरेख देल
कनक कुंभ जनु भग्नहु भेल।"

विशाल उरोजमे गाढ़ नखक्षत देखि कवि कल्पना करैत छथि जे बूझि पड़ैए सोनाक कलशमे फांक पड़ि गेल छैक।

"कोन कुमति कुच नख खत देल
हाय हाय संभु भगन भए गेल ।।६८।।"

नायिकाक उरोजमे नायक कृत नख क्षत देखि कियो सखी कहैत अछि जे कोन दुर्बुद्धिसँ नायक ई नख क्षत कएलक अछि जाहिसँ शिव-चिह्न भग्न भए गेल अछि ।

एहिठाम उरोजमे शंभुक तथा नखक्षतमे भग्नताक (फाँक फड़बाक) सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि। एतए द्योतक पदक अभावमे उत्प्रेक्षा प्रतीयमान अछि ।

"प्रकट उरोज रकत नखरेखा ताहि पड़ल कुचभारा
जनि निज वैंरि कलाकर हेरइत मेरु पड़ल अँधियारा" ।।७००।।

विशाल उरोजपर नख क्षतक चिह्न सर्वथा नव रहने लाल छैक आओर ताहि पर नायिका केश पसारने अछि से बुझि पड़ैए जेना अपन शत्रु चन्द्र के तकैत तकैत अन्हार मेरु पर पहुँचि गेल हो । एहिठाम उरोजमे मेरुपर्वतक, नवीन नखक्षतमे सायंकालिक पूर्णचन्द्रक; जे अरुणाभ होइत अछि, आओर केशपाशमे अंधकारक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि जकर द्योतन एतए जनि पदसँ होइत छैक ।

"नखखत देल कुच सिरीफल
कमले झाँपि कि हो कनकाचल ।।६६।।"

नायकसँ सखी कहैत छैक जे रति-संगोपन की सुभल छैक ? कुच रूपी श्रीफलपर अहाँक देल नखक्षतक चिह्न एहेन अछि जे हाथसँ झांपल नहि भए सकैत अछि । की, कमलसँ क्यो सुवर्ण पर्वतके नुकाए सकैत अछि ? तावता एहि पदमे हाथमे कमलक तथा उरोजमे सुवर्ण पर्वतक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि जे प्रतीयमान अछि ।

"पीन पयोधर नखरमंदा
जनि महेसर शिखर चंदा ।।२९८।।"

दूती कहैत अछि जे नायिकाक विशाल उरोजमे दुष्ट नख क्षत बूझि पड़ैए जेना शिवक मस्तकपर चन्द्रोदय भेल हो । एतए उरोजमे शंभु-चिह्नक तथा नखक्षतमे चन्द्रोदयक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि । ई वाच्य अछि ।

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वयः सन्धिक प्रकरणमे विद्यापति कहैत छथि——

"उर हिल्लोलित चांचर केश
चामर झांपल कनक महेश ।।६२३।।"

नायिकाक केश उरोजपर छिरिआएल छैक से बूझि पड़ैए जेना सुवर्णक शिव-चिह्न चामरसँ झांपल हो । एहिना उरोजपर छिरिआएल केशराशि छैक तथा नायिका

उजरा हार पहिरने अछि से बूझि पड़ैए जेना सुवर्णाचलपर अन्हरियाक (चन्द्रहीन) तारागण उदित भेल हो ।

"कुचयुग उपर चिकुर फुजि पसरल
ता अरुझाएल (ओझराएल) हारा ।
जनि सुमेरु ऊपर मिलि ऊगल
चांद विहिन सब तारा ॥ २१६ ॥"

एकठाम ओहि प्रसंगक उत्प्रेक्षा दोसर तरहें करैत छथि—

"उर पर सामरि वेनी
कमल कोप जनि कारि लगेनी ॥२७०॥"
× × ×
"उर पर सामरि वेनी
कमल कोस जनि कारि नगिनी" ॥५५४॥

उरोजपर विन्यस्त केशपाश बुझि पड़ैए जेना कमलक मधुकोष पर करिया सांप बैसल रहए । कहबाक ई जे विद्यापति उरोजपर छिरिआएल केशक उत्प्रेक्षा अनेक तरहें देखाए बौद्धिक चमत्कारक छटा प्रदर्शन में सिद्धहस्त प्रमाणित होइत छथि । उरोजमें सुवर्णाचलक कल्पना हिनका विशेष प्रिय छैन्हि । तें अधिक ठाम ओएह चर्चित अछि । किन्तु सुवर्ण शिव-चिह्नक कल्पना सेहो कोनो कम आकर्षक नहि अछि । एहिसँ भिन्नो-भिन्नो कल्पना सभ भेटल अछि । जेना कमलक, मधुकोषक तथा श्रीफलक आदि । केश विन्यासकें ई अन्धकारसँ सम्भावित करैत छथि । अधिक ठाम सएह देखैत छी । मुदा कतहु सांपक कल्पना सेहो हृदयस्पर्शी भेल अछि ।

"पीन पयोधर अपरुप सुन्दर ऊपर मोतिमहार
जनि कनकाचल उपर विमल जल दुइ वह सुरसरि धार" ॥४०॥

विशाल उरोजपर सुन्दर उजरा हार बूझि पड़ैए जेना कनकाचल पर स्वर्गगाक दूटा धार बहैत रहए । उरोज मे कनकाचलक आओर हारमे स्वर्गगाक सम्भावना एतए जनि पदसँ वाच्य अछि ।

"कुचयुग ऊपर आनन हेरु
चांद राहु डर चढ़ल सुमेरु ॥२७१॥"

उरोजक ऊपर मुखाकृति लगैए जेना राहुक डरें चन्द्रमा सुवर्णक पर्वत पर चढ़ल होथि । उरोजमे सुवर्णाचलक तथा मुखमे चन्द्रक सम्भावना एतए व्यंग्य अछि ।

"चन्दन चरचु पयोधर रे, ग्रिम गजमुक्ताहार
भसम भरल जनि शंकर रे सिर सुरसरि जलधार" ॥३८॥

प्रेमक प्रसंगमे प्रसिद्ध छैक जे नायकके ँ आकृष्ट करबाले नायिका सुरभियुक्त पदार्थक लेप लगबैत रहए, जे एखनहु प्रचलित अछि । भने वस्तु मे भेद रहौक मुदा प्रणाली एके अछि । प्रकृतमे नायिका अपन उरोजपर श्रीखण्ड चाननक लेप लगओने अछि तथा गरदनिमे गजमुक्ताक उजरा हार छैक, से एहेन लगैत अछि जेना भस्मसँ लेपल शिवपर गंगाक धार बहैत रहए । तें उरोजमें शिवक, श्रीखण्डमे भस्मक तथा गजमुक्ताक हारमे गंगाक धारक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि । जे जनि शब्द रहने वाच्य अछि ।

"आँचर परसि पयोधर हेरु
जनम पंगु जनु भेटल सुमेरु" ॥९५॥

सखी प्रेमी तथा प्रेमिकाक परस्पर सुरत-क्रिया देखि कहैत अछि जे प्रेमी आँचर क स्पर्श कए ओकरा हटाए उरोज देखि रहल छैक से मानू जन्महिसँ नाङर व्यक्ति कें सोनाक पहाड़ भेटि गेल हो । पयोधरमे सुमेरुक सम्भावना एतए वाच्य अछि ।

"सुरत समापि सुतल वर नागर पानि पयोधर आपी
कननशंभु जनि पूजि पुजारी धएल सरोरुह झांपी" ॥९००॥

नायक सुरतसँ निवृत्त भेलापर नायिकाक उरोजपर हाथ राखि कए सूतल अछि, तकरा विद्यापति उत्प्रेक्षा करैत छथि जे कियो पूजा कएनिहार शिव भक्त पूजा कएलाक बाद शिव कें कमलसँ झाँपि कए रखने रहए । पूजाक उपरान्त फूल दइएके संपुटमे शालग्राम वा नर्मदेश्वरके ँ रखबाक प्रथा मिथिलामे प्रचलित अछि । एतए उरोजमे शिव-चिह्नक तथा नायकक हाथमे कमलक सम्भावना झाँपब क्रियासँ युक्त रहने क्रियोत्प्रेक्षा वाच्य अछि ।

"अम्बर विघटु अकामिक कामिनि कर कुच झांपु सुछन्दा
कनक शंभु सम अनुपम सुन्दर दुइ पंकज दस चन्दा" ॥३९॥

प्रेम प्रसंगमें अकस्मात् सुन्दरीक छातीसँ वसन हटि जाइत छैक, तखन ओकरा आवरण देबाले ओ अपन दूनू हाथसँ झपैत अछि । तकरा महाकवि उत्प्रेक्षा करैत छथि जेना सुवर्णक शिव-चिह्नपर दूटा अरुण कमल एवं दश गोट चन्द्रमा रहए । एतए उरोजमे सुवर्ण शिव-चिह्नक तथा दशो नखमे अधिक शुभ्रता एवं गोलाकार रहने चन्द्रमाक तथा करयुगलमे कमलक सम्भावना प्रतीयमान अछि ।

एहिठाम ई स्मरणीय अछि जे शिवक सिरपर एकटा चन्द्रक निवास प्रसिद्ध अछि, सेहो अपन आधे कला लएकें रहैत छथि । परन्तु कवि एतए उत्प्रेक्षा करैत छथि जे दस गोट चन्द्रमा शिवपर छथि । एहिना कमलक फूलसँ शिवक पूजा प्रसिद्ध अछि, सेहो एहिठाम घटित भए रहल अछि । नायिका एतए सौन्दर्यपर केवल आवरणे टा नहि देल अछि अपितु ओकर संग-संग कमलसँ शिवक पूजा सेहो कएल अछि ।

सेहो एहेन लोकोत्तर शिव जे सुवर्णक थिकाह तथा दश गोट चन्द्रकें धारण कएने छथि । एहिठाम उत्प्रेक्षा प्रतीयमान अछि, वाच्य नहि ।

"आड़ वदन कए मधुर हास दए
सुन्दरि रहु सिर नाइ,
ओंधा कमल कान्ति नहि पूरए
हेरइत युग बहि जाइ ।।३९।।"

× × ×

"चांद सार लए मुख घटना करु,
लोचन चकित चकोरे ।
अमिय धोए आंचर धनि पोछलि
दह दिस भेल उजोरे ।।२१।।"

कोनो सुन्दरी अपन मुंह कान साफ कए रहलि अछि तकरा महाकवि कल्पना करैत छथि जे चन्द्रसारसँ ओहि मुखक रचना भेल छैक तें ओ अमृतमय अछि । तकरा धोएके जँ आँचरसँ नायिका पोछैत अछि तँ आँचरमे अमृत अवश्य पर्याप्त मात्रामे लगतैक अथवा अमृतसँ आँचर भी जि जएतैक से ओएह आँचर संसार भरिमे इजोरिआक नाम धराए पसरल अछि । एहिठाम मुँह पोछब रूप क्रियाक उत्प्रेक्षा दसो दिस इजोरियाक पसार रूपमे प्रतीयमान अछि ।

"कर किसलय सयन रचित गगन मण्डल पेखी ।
जनि सरोरुह अरुन सुतल विनु विरोधें उपेखी ।।
नवघन जओ नीर वरिसय नयन उज्ज्वल तोरा ।
जनि सुधाकर करें कवलित अमिय वम चकोरा ।।

× × ×

उत्तुंग पीन पयोधर उपर लखिअ अधर छाया ।
कनक गिरि पवार उपजल वापु मनोभव माया ।।
तौं पुनि से नारि विरहें झामरि पलटि परलि वेनी ।
सांस समीरन पिबए धाओलि जनि से कारि नगिनी ।।२५१।।"

किसलय सन हाथपर मुँह राखिकए नायिका आकाश दिस देखि रहल अछि, बुझू बिनु विरोधें कमल बालारुणपर सूति रहल अछि। ओकर उज्ज्वल नयन बुझू नवीन मेघ जल बर्षाए रहल छैक । अथवा चकोर चन्द्रकिरणसँ कवलित भए अमृतक उद्गिरण कए रहल हो । पयोधरपर अधरक छटा देखि बूझि पड़ैए जेना कामदेवक माया सँ कनकाचलपर प्रवाल उत्पन्न भेल रहए । नायिकाक केशक जुट्टी उनटि कए खसल छैक, बुझू कारी नागिन वायुपान करबाले दौड़ि रहल हो । एहिठाम मुखमे कमलक,

हाथमे बालारुणक, नयनमे चकोरक, पयोधरमे कनकाचलक, अधरमे प्रवालक तथा केश पाशमे कृष्ण सर्पक सम्भावना वाच्य अछि ।

"गोर शरीर पयोधर कोरी परसें अरुन भेल ।
कनक वलरि जनि रतोपले मुकुले उदय देल ।।७३।।"

नायिका सखी रूपमे दूती सँ कहैत छैक जे गौर वर्ण शरीर तथा उरोज युगल नायकक स्पर्श पाबि लाल भए गेलैक, से बुझू सोनाक लत्तीमे लाल कमलक कली भेल रहैक । एतए उरोजमे रक्तोत्पलक कलीक तथा शरीरमे सुवर्णलताक सम्भावना व्यंग्य अछि ।

"रंग पयोधर अति भेल गौर ।
माँजि धएल जनि कनक कटोर ।।६९।।"

संभोगसँ निवृत्त नायिकाके सखी कहैत छैक जे तोहर उरोज युगल अरुणाभ भए गेल छौक, से बूझि पड़ैए जेना सोनाक कटोर के कियो धोला-माँजलाक बाद उनटा कए राखि देने रहैक । एहि भावक प्रदर्शन महाकवि सद्यः स्नाताक वर्णनमे एक ठाम आओर कएल अछि :—

"तें उधसल कुच जोरा ।
पलटि बैसाओल कनक कटोरा ।।६३२"

× × ×

"आजु देखल धनि जाइति रे ।
मोहि उपजल रंग ।
कनक लता जनि संचर रे ।
महितल के संग ।।
पुन अपरुप हम देखल रे ।
कुचयुग अरविन्द ।
विकसित नहि किछु कारन रे ।
सनमुख मुख चन्द्र" ।।५।।

कोनो गौरांगी सुन्दरीके जाइति देखि नायकक मोनमे भेल विकार एहिमे चर्चित अछि । ओकरा मुहे विद्यापति कहवैत छथि जे सुन्दरी जे चलैत रहए से बुझि पड़ल जेना धरती पर सोनाक लत्ती चलैत फिरैत हो । एतवे नहि, अहूसँ विलक्षण हम देखल जे ओहि लत्तीमे उरोज रूप दू टा कमल छैक । किन्तु समक्षमे मुखरूप चन्द्रके पाबि नहि फुलाए रहल छैक । कवि प्रसिद्धि छैक जे कमल सूर्योदय भेलापर फुलाइत अछि तथा सूर्यास्त भेलापर सकुचि जाइत अछि । एतए गौर शरीरमे सुवर्ण लताक, उरोजमे कमलक तथा मुखचन्द्रक सम्भावना वाच्य अछि ।

शरीर में सुवर्णलताक संभावना विद्यापतिक आनो पद मे भेटैत अछि। जेना—

"कनक लता सनि सुन्दरि सजनि गे
विहि निरमाओल आनि" ॥२४१॥

× × ×

"अलखिते हमे हेरि विहसलि थोर
जनि रजनी भेल चाँद इजोर।
कुटिल कटाख लाट परि गेल
मधुकर डम्बर अम्बरें देल" ॥२३५॥

नायक कहैत छथि जे हमरा दिस अलक्षित रूपें देखिकए सुन्दरी हँसलि से बुझू ओएह रातुक इजोरिया थिक। ओ वारम्बार वक्र दृष्टिएँ तकैत रहए से मानू भ्रमर समूह आकाशमे एमहर ओमहर उड़ैत रहए। कविप्रसिद्धि छैक जे हास उज्जर होइत छैक, तें स्मित में इजोरियाक आओर कटाक्षक तरलता एवं विविधतामे मधुकर राशिक उड़बा क उत्प्रेक्षा कएल गेल अछि, जे वाच्य अछि।

"यमुना तीर युवति केलिकर
उठि उगल सानन्दा।
चिकुर सेमार हार अरुझाएल
यूथे यूथे उग चन्दा॥
मानिनि अपरुप तुअ निरमाने
पाच वाने जनि सेना साजलि
अइसन उपजु मोहि भाने।
आनि पुनिम शशि कनक थोए कसि
सिरिजल तुअ मुख सारा।
जे सबे उबरल काटि नराओल
से सब उपजल तारा" ॥२३४॥

युवती स्नान केलि कए तटपर आनन्दसँ ठाढ़ि अछि। कशराशिमे उजरा हार ओझराए गेलैक अछि, तकरा सोझरेवा मे जे दूनू हाथ लगौलक अतएव दसोटा उजरा गोलका नख ओहिमे संलग्न भए गेलैक अछि। से बूझू चन्द्रमाक झुंड एक संग उदित भए गेल अछि। सुन्दरीक अपूर्व निर्माण अछि। बूझि पड़ैए जेना कामदेव दिग्विजय करवाले एकरहि शरीरके सेनाक रूपमे सजाओल अछि। विधाता पूर्णिमाक चन्द्रमा तथा सुवर्णसँ सुन्दरीक मुखक निर्माण कएल अछि। आओर ओहि निर्माणसँ जे अवशिष्ट सामग्री छल सएह ताराक रूपमे भरि आकाश छिरिआएल अछि। एहिठाम दसो नखमे चन्द्रक, सौन्दर्य-समूहमे काम सेनाक सम्भावना वाच्य तथा ताराक विलक्षण उत्प्रेक्षा व्यंग्य अछि।

"काजरें रंजित धवल नयनवर
भमर मिलल जनि अरुन कमल दल" ॥२३०॥

एहि पदमे काजर कएल आँखिक उत्प्रेक्षा भ्रमरसँ युक्त लाल कमलसँ कएल गेल अछि ।

"आलस विवश घुमए मुखमण्डल गण्ड अधर दुति मन्दा ।
जनि रसपान कएल सब नीरस राहु उगिलि देल चन्दा ॥
जागि रजनि भेल लोहित लोचन अलस निमीलित मानी ।
रक्त उरोज कोर जनि मधुकर सूति रहल मदमांती ॥"

सुरतक पछाति नायिकाक स्वरूपक चित्रणमे विद्यापति कहैत छथि जे नायिकाक मुखाकृतिसँ आलस्य झलकैत छैक, से एहन लगैए जेना ग्रहणक बाद राहु सुधा पीबि चन्द्रमाके उगिलि देने रहथि । रात्रि जागरणसँ नायिकाक आँखि लाल छैक तथा आलस्यसँ मिलमिला रहल छैक, से बूझि पड़ैए जेना लाल कमलक बीच भ्रमर सूतल रहए । एतए मुखमे चन्द्रक तथा मालिन्यमे राहुक उद्गिरणक, आँखिमे जागरणसँ लाल रहने रक्तोत्पलक तथा पिपनीमे भ्रमरक सम्भावना वाच्य अछि ।

"करतल लीन शोभए मुखचन्द
जनि किसलय मिलु मुख अरविन्द ॥
अह निश गड़ए नयन जलधार
जनि खंजन गिलि उगिलल हार" ॥१७०॥

विरहिणी नायिकाक वर्णन करैत विद्यापति कहैत छथि जे ओ अपन तरहत्थीसँ मुँह झँपने अछि, से लगैए जेना नवीन कमल किसलयसँ मिलल हो । दिनराति जे अश्रुपात ओ करैत अछि, से बूझू खंजन हार उगिलि रहल हो । एहिठाम क्रियोत्प्रेक्षा वाच्य अछि । करतलमे किसलयक, मुखमे अरविन्दक, नयनमे खंजनक तथा अश्रुधारमे हारक सम्भावना एतए कएल गेल अछि ।

"अधर सुशोभित वदन सुछन्द मधुरी फूले पुजु अरविन्द ।
तहु दुहु सुललित नयन सामरा विमल कमल दल वइसल भमरा ॥"
× × ×
"गिरिम लागल मुकुता हारे कुचयुग चकेव चरइ गंगा धारे" ॥२०॥

नायिकाक वर्णनक्रममे विद्यापति कहैत छथि जे मुखाकृतिक संग अधर बूझि पड़ैए जेना कमल फूलक पूजा मधुरी फूलसँ कएल गेल हो । पुनः ओही मुखाकृतिमे दूटा कारी (काजरयुक्त) आँखि बूझि पड़ैए स्वच्छ कमलपर दूटा भ्रमर बैसल

रहए। गरदनिमे उजरा मोतिक हार छैक से बूझू उरोज रूप चकवा गंगाक धारमे चलैत हो। एतए मुखाकृतिमे कमलक, अधरमे मधुरी फूलक, आँखिमे भ्रमरक, हारमे गंगाक धाराक तथा उरोजमे चकवा पक्षीक संभावना व्यंग्य अछि।

"सहजहिं आनन सुन्दर रे भऊँह सुरेखलि आँखि
पंकज मधु पिबि मधुकर रे उड़ए पसारए पाँखि ॥३८॥"

नायिकाक सुन्दर मुखाकृतिमें भउँह तथा काजर कएल आँखि लगैए जेना कमलक मधु पीबि भ्रमर उड़बा ले पाँखि पसारैत रहए। एतए क्रियोत्प्रेक्षा व्यंग्य अछि। मुखमे कमलक, भउंहमे पाँखिक तथा आँखिमे भ्रमरक सम्भावना एतए कएल गेल अछि।

"अरुन लोचन घुमि घुमाएल
जनि रतोपले पवने पाओल।
आकुल चिकुरे वदन झाँपल
जनि तमा चय चाँद चापल
फूजलि नीवि आनि मेराओलि
जनि सुरसरि उतरे धाओलि ॥६६॥

सुरतसँ निवृत्त नायिकाक चित्रणमे विद्यापति कहैत छथि जे नायिकाक लाल आँखि मिलमिला रहल छैक, से बुझू लाल कमल हवामे डोलैत हो। केश राशिक अस्तव्यस्ततासँ मुखाकृति झंपा गेलैक अछि से बुझू अन्धकार समूहसँ चन्द्र झंपा गेल होथि। खुजल वसन शरीरमे लेपटाए रहलि अछि से बुझू गंगाक धार उत्तर दिशामे प्रवाहित भेल हो। एतए लाल आँखिमे रक्त कमलक, केशराशिमे अन्धकारक तथा मुखमे चन्द्रक सम्भावना वाच्य अछि।

"निन्द भरल अछि लोचन तोर
अमिय-भरमे जनि लुबुध चकोर" ॥६८॥

ओंघाएल आँखिक उत्प्रेक्षा विद्यापति अमृत पानक भ्रमसँ लुब्ध भए संलग्न चकोरसँ कएल अछि।

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सद्यःस्नाता नायिकाक चित्रणमे विद्यापति बहुविध उत्प्रेक्षाक विलास देखाओल अछि। जेना—

"चिकुर गरए जलधारा
जनि मुख शशि डर रोअए अन्धारा।

कुचयुग चारु चकेवा
निश्र कुल मिलहि आन कोन देवा ।।
तें शंका भुजपाशे
बाँधि धएल उड़ि जएत अकाशे" ।।२३३।।

नायिकाक स्नान कएला पर केशसँ पानि खसि रहल छैक से जेना मुखरूपी चन्द्रमाक डरें अन्धकार कानि रहल हो । एहि ठाम मुखमे चन्द्रक अभेदारोप कएले पर अन्धकारक कानब सम्भव अछि। तें रूपकानुप्राणित क्रियोत्प्रेक्षा एहि अंशमे वाच्य अछि । नायिकाक उरोज युगक कल्पना चकवा पक्षी युगलसँ कएल गेल अछि । तें कवि कहैत छथि जे कोन देवता एहि दम्पतिके एकठाम बैसाए देल अछि । हेतु जे चकवा युगल कें दिनमे एकठाम रहनहुँ रातिमे विरह कवि प्रसिद्धि छैक । प्रकृतमे मुखचन्द्रक तथा अन्धकारक चर्चासँ रातिक सम्भावना छैक । तें के देव विशेष असम्भव चकवा-युगलक एकत्र अवस्थिति सम्भव कएल अछि–ई अर्थ संगत होइत अछि। तेसर चरणमे एकरहि पुष्ट करैत कहल जाइछ जे स्नानक बाद परिधान छाड़बाक काल नायिका दूनू बाँहिसँ उरोजकें झंपने अछि। मानू चकवा दम्पति पक्षी जातिक रहने उड़िने जाए तें वाहु फांसमे ओकरा वान्हि कए रखने हो ।

स्नानक वाद केशराशिसँ खसैत पानिक उत्प्रेक्षा एकठाम मेघसँ बरिसैत मोतिक-हारसँ कएल गेल अछि । जेना—

"चिकुर गरए जलधारा
मेह वरिस जनु मोतिमहारा ।।

× × ×

वदन पोछल परचूरे, मांजि धएल जनु कनक मुकुरे" ।।६३२।।

नायिका मुँह कान नीक जकाँ पोछि लेलक अछि, से बुझू सोनाक अएनाके क्यों माँजि कए रखने हो । मुखाकृतिमे सुवर्ण दर्पणक कल्पना एतए वाच्य अछि ।

"अलसें पुरल लोचन तोर
अमिएँ मातल चाँद चकोर ।
निचल भऊँह जे ले विसराम
रन जनि धनु तेजल काम ।।

× × ×

कुच सिरीफल करज सिरी
केशु विकसित कनक गिरि" ।। ३०३ ।।

सखी सुरतसँ निवृत्त नायिकासँ कहैत छैक तोहर आँखि आलस्यसँ भरल छौक से वुझि पड़ैए जेना अमृतपान कए चकोर स्थित हो । तोहर निश्चल भउंह बूझि पड़ैए

जेना कामदेव दिग्विजय कए धनुप राखि देने होथि । उरोजरूपी श्रीफलपर नखाघात बूझि पड़ैए जेना सोनाक पहाड़पर किंशुक फुलाएल रहए । एतए नयनमे चकोरक, भऊंहमे धनुषक तथा उरोजमे स्वर्णाचलक एवं नखक्षतमे किंशुक कुसुमक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि । जे पहिल तथा अन्तिम चरणमे प्रतीयमान तथा मध्यक चरणमे वाच्य अछि ।

"पीन पयोधर चिबुक चुम्बए
किए पटतर देला
वदन चांद तरासे लुकायल
पलटि हेरि चकोरा" ।।३०७।।

स्थूल पयोधरक चुम्बन अधर करैत अछि मानू मुखरूप चन्द्र नुकाए चाहैत छथि, मुदा चकोर हुनका ताकि रहल अछि ।

"अवनत आनन कए हम रहलिहु
वारल लोचन चोर ।
पिया मुख रुचि पिबए धाओल
जनि से चांद चकोर ।।
ततहु स हठे हटि मोयें आनल
धएल चरण राखि ।
मधुप मांतल उड़ए न पारए
तइओ पसारए पांखि" ।।३४।।

सुरतसँ निवृत्त नायिका सखीसँ कहैत अछि जे मिलनक काल मुँह यद्यपि नीचा कएने रही, आँखिरूपी चोरके मना केने रहिऐक जे हुनका दिस नहि देख, मुदा ओ नहि मानलक । जेना चकोर चन्द्र दिस दौड़ैत अछि तहिना ईहो प्रियतमक रूप पान करवा ले दौड़ल । पुनः हठपूर्वक ओकरा ओतएसँ हटाए अपन पएर दिश झुकौलहुँ से बूझि पड़ल जेना मधुपानसँ उन्मत्त भ्रमर उड़ि नहि सकैत अछि मुदा उड़बाले पांखि पसारैत अछि । एहिठाम लोचनमे चकोरक, प्रियक मुखमे चन्द्रक पुनः नयनमे मधु-मत्त भ्रमरक सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि ।

"नमित अलके वेरला मुख कमल शोभे
राहुक बाहु परसला ससि मण्डल लोभे ।
× × ×
कलस कुच लोटायलि घन सामरि बेनी
कनक गिरि जनि सूतलि कारि नगिनी" ।।१६८।।

नायिकाक नीचा दिस लटकैत केश विन्यास मुँह झाँपि देलकैक अछि से मानू चन्द्रमण्डलक लोभें राहु बाँहि पसारने होथि । मेघ सन कारी वेणी ओकर उरोजपर

रहैक, से मानू सोनाक पहाड़पर कारी सांप सुतल रहए। एतए पूर्व चरणमे अलंकार व्यंग्य अछि तथा अपर चरणमे वाच्य। अलकमे राहुक बांहिक, मुखमे चन्द्रमण्डलक, पुनः उरोजमे स्वर्णाचलक तथा वेणीमे कृष्ण सर्पक सम्भावना एतए कएल गेल अछि।

"करे कुचमण्डल रहलहुँ गोए
कमल कनकगिरि झांपि न होए" ॥१८६॥

नायिका सखीसँ कहैत छथि जे हाथसँ उरोजकें नुकाए राखए चाहलहुँ मुदा कमलसँ कतहु स्वर्णाचल झाँपल जाए। एतए कुचमे स्वर्णाचलक तथा हाथमे कमलक सम्भावना व्यंग्य अछि।

"चिन्ताए करतल लीन वदन
तसु देखि उपजु मोहि भाने
दर लोभे विहि अपरुप जनि सिरिजल
चान्द कमल सन्धाने" ॥८५३॥

विरह चिन्तासँ तरहत्थी पर मुँह राखि नायिका बैसलि अछि, से बूझू विधाता अपूर्व रचनाक लोभसँ चन्द्रमा तथा कमलके एकेठाम राखल अछि। मुँहमे चन्द्रक तथा हाथमे कमलक सम्भावना एतए वाच्य अछि। एतए अपूर्वता ई छैक जे कमल तथा चन्द्रक एकठाम रहब कवि प्रसिद्धि विरुद्ध थिक, जकर उत्प्रेक्षा एतए चमत्कारक अछि।

"तोर वदन देखि भान उपजु मोहि
केशु फुल उतर भ्रमरे" ॥८४४॥

नायक मान भंग करबा ले चाटुकारिता करैत नायिका कें मनाए रहल अछि। तें कहैत अछि—"हे सुन्दरि! अहांक मुखाकृति देखि बूझि पड़ैए जेना किंशुक कुसुम पर भ्रमर बैसल रहए। एतए मुखमे किंशुक कुसुमक तथा नयनमे भ्रमरक उत्प्रेक्षा कएल गेल अछि, जे अतिशयोक्तिसँ अनुप्राणित अछि।

"फुले कवरि उलटि उरे परई
जनु कनकगिरि चामर ढरई" ॥७५३॥

विरहिणीक वर्णनमे कहल जाइत अछि जे खुजल केशराशि उरोजपर पसरल रहैक से बुझू सोनाक पहाड़ चामर सँ झाँपल हो। केशराशिमे चामरक तथा उरोजमे सुवर्णाचलक सम्भावना एतए वाच्य अछि।

"नील कलेवर पीत वसन धर,
चन्दन तिलक धवला।
सामर मेघ सौदामिनि मण्डित,
तथिहि उदित शशिकला" ॥ ३५ ॥

श्रीकृष्णक स्वरूपक ध्यान नायिका कए रहलि अछि जे ओ श्यामवर्ण छथि, पीयर वसन पहिरने छथि तथा चाननक ठोप कएने छथि से बुझि पड़ैए जेना कारी मेघसँ विजलोका लोकैत रहए तथा चन्द्रोदय भेल हो। श्यामवर्णमे मेघक, पीत वसनमे बिजुरीक तथा चाननक ठोपमे चन्द्रक सम्भावना व्यंग्य अछि।

"पल्लव राज चरण युग शोभित, गति गजराजक भाने
कनक कदलि पर सिंह समारल, ता पर मेरु समाने
मेरु उपर दुइ कमल फुलायल, नाल विना रुचि पाई
मणिमय हार धार बह सुरसरि, तइओ नहि कमल सुखाई
अधर विम्बसन दशन दाड़िम विजु रवि शशि उगथिक पासे
राहु दूर वसि नियरो न आवथि तेँ नहि करथि गरासे" ॥२५॥

सुवर्णक कड़रिक थम्हपर सिंह सजाओल अछि, आओर ताहि पर मेरु पर्वत राखल छैक, ओहि मेरुपर दूटा कमल फुलायल अछि जे विना नालक शोभित भए रहल अछि। शुभ्र मणिक माला बूझू गंगाक धार थिक तें ओ कमल सुखा नहि रहल अछि। अधर विम्ब (तिलकोरक फर) सन अछि तथा दशन दाड़िमक बीज सन अछि। सिन्दूर विन्दु मानू सूर्य थिक आ मुखाकृति चन्द्र से केशपाशरूप राहुक दूर रहने ग्रहण नहि लागि रहल अछि। एहिठाम अतिशयोक्तिसँ अनुप्राणित उत्प्रेक्षा अछि। उरोजमे कमलक, हृदयमे मेरु पर्वतक, हारमे गंगाक धारक, सिन्दूर विन्दुमे सूर्यक, मुखाकृतिमे चन्द्रक ओ केशराशिमे राहुक सम्भावना एतए व्यंग्य अछि।

"चिकुर निकर तम सम पुनि आनन पुनिम शशी
नयन पंकज के पतिआओव एकहिठाम रहु वसी" ॥ ३२ ॥

सुन्दरीक केशपाश बुझ अन्धकार थिक, मुखाकृति बुझू चन्द्र थिकाह आओर नयन युग बुझू कमल थिक। बहुत आश्चर्यक विषय जे चन्द्र, कमल तथा अन्धकार एकठाम अछि। एहिठाम उपर्युक्त तीनू उपमान यद्यपि प्रसिद्ध अछि तथा सम पद रहने ई पद्य उपमाक लक्ष्य जकाँ बूझि पड़ैए। मुदा ओकरा सभक एकत्र समावेश असम्भव वस्तु भेने ओकर सम्भावना कएल गेल अछि, तें एतए उत्प्रेक्षा अलंकार स्थिर होइत[१] अछि।

१. एतए पद्यसंख्या मित्र तथा मजुमदार संपादित पदावलीसँ संगृहीत अछि।

ARABIAN MEDICINE IN INDIA

By M. Z. Siddiqi*

The term Arabian Medicine is misleading. It may be misunderstood as meaning the system of Medical Science which originated in Arabia and was developed by the Arabs, just as the term Indian Medicine means the system of Medicine which originated in India and was developed by the Indians. But the Arabs did not originate any system of Medicine nor did they develop it. As a matter of fact the Arab people did not originate or develop the system of any science at all. The term was originated and used by the European writers, for the system of Medicine which was received by them through the works written in Arabic language on Medical Science. The same was largely developed by the Greeks like Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen and others. Their works were translated into Arabic during the first three centuries of Hijri era.

During these very centuries several of the important Indian Medical works were also translated into Arabic. They included (1) the Charaka, (2) the Susruta, (3) the Nidana and (4) the Stangahoridaya. From the 9th till the 11th centuries the Arabs also collected important facts regarding the origin, rise and various stages of the different diseases and their symptoms and peculiarities and made use of them in their works.

The term Arabian Medicine as used by the European writers, refers to these works, and means the medical works written in Arabic, irrespectice of their origin. And the term yunani medicine is used for them in India, due to the fact that the theories promulgated in these Arabic works were mainly taken from Greek writers who might have borrowed them from the Egyptians and others. But it would be wrong to think that the entire contents of the Arabic medical words are of Greek origin. In reality it is the result of the medical experience and wisdom of all the various peoples with whom the Arabic medical writers came in contact, and whose works on the subject they had received, as well as of the experience of the writers themselves.

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This is the lecture delivered at the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute on 26.10.70.

The earliest medical compendium written in Arabic is the *Ferdausu'l-Ḥikmat* (Paradise of wisdom) of 'Ali b. Ramman-al-Tabari', which was completed and presented to the Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 850 A.D. It contains a large number of extracts not only from the Greek medical works, but also from the above mentioned four Indian medical works, on the basis of which the author has given a short synopsis of the whole of the Indian system of medicine. In the introductory part of the Discourse dealing with Indian medicine, Ibn Rabban says that he collected together the medical principles of the two great nations. For, the students by learning the principles in which they agree or differ would gain greater mastery of the science. They might accept out of it, what might be correct and good, and reject what might be incorrect and unreasonable.

After Ibn Rabban, his student, al-Raźí (Rhazes) learnt whatever was available to him of the medical science, from the various sources and compared them with the results of his own experience and noted them down. These notes were arranged after his death, by his students, in book form and was named as *al-Ḥáwi* (the Continents) which consists of 21 large volumes. A bad and incorrect Latin translation of it was published in 1486. The Arabic text of most of it, is published by the Däiratu'l-Maáárif, of Hyderabad. Other Arabic medical writers like Aricemma (d. 1037), al-Zahráwi (1007) Ibn Khátima (d. 1369); and others also added in their works the results of their own experience some of which would be mentioned later.

Since the time of Harun al-Rashid there were living in Baghdad, and practising, the healing art, men belonging, to various, countries like Syria, Persia as well as India. One of the Indian physicians was also in charge of a hospital in Baghdad. The Arabic medical works, therefore, were influenced more or less, by all of them. But the Greek system of medicine influenced them most.

Its origin like that of other systems of medicine, goes back to the ancient period when it was held that the disease was caused by the sins of man or by the influence of the supernatural powers. But in the historical period the different schools of medical men developed it under the various influences. In the 5th Century B.C., Hippocrates, freed it from all the superstitions and narrow family considerations, systematised the solid result of the experiences of his predecessors, founded a medical school and a hospital,

to which all classes of people were admitted. He prescribed for the students of medicine, an oath similar to that laid down by the Indian physician, Susruta. It laid down high ethical standard of the duties of the physician to his teachers, to his pupils, and to his patients. He is, therefore, known as the father of Greek system of medicine.

To him is attributed the humoural theory which probably, he borrowed from the ancient Egyptians. It laid down that the living organism consisted of four humours—blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile. Each of them consisted of four elements—Fire. Water, Air, Earth (Warmth, Cold, Dryness and Moisture). The Organism as well as its various parts possess these essential qualities as well as the natural power to keep them in order. The essential factor of life is the natural heat which is embedded in the heart and prevades the whole organism. If the four humours and elements are in proper proportion and are properly mingled the organism enjoys perfect health. But if it is disturbed due to internal or external causes, disease sets in. The natural heat and the natural healing power of the organism, tries to combat it. It is the duty of the physician to help the natural healing power of the organism by suitable medicine whenever necessary and not to supersede or impede it. The *Therapeutics* of Hippocrates was not bound by any fixed rules. It was essentially individualistic. According to him the physician should treat the sick and not sickness.

After his death, his system was further developed by many scholars and physicians of Greece, Rome and Egypt. The most important among them were Aristotle and Galen. But the former was more a philosopher than a physician. The latter was a great physician and also a great writer. He made a life-long research in anatomy and obtained some excellent results. He unified the various branches of medical science into one complete system. But in doing so, he made use of the deductive process and based it on more plausible assumptions.

Some time after him the science of medicine declined in the hands of the Jathes of the Church. The depth to which the healing art degenerated under them, has been illustrated by Prof E.G. Browne in the third of his phitizpatric lectures on Arabian medicine, (pp. 69-70) with examples of the treatment of ailments by their physicians, which are related by Usama b. Munqidh in his *Kitabu'l-I'atibar*.

But fortunately for the science, the Muslim Caliphs and Amirs began to take active interest in science in general and in medical science in particular, since the 7th century. They collected every available book on the subject in different languages, attracted the spicialists in them, from the several parts of the world, and encouraged them to translate these works into Arabic and to develop the science in every possible way. The scholars of different nationalities-Arabs and non-Arabs. Muslim, Jews, Christian and Hindus who found asylum in the courts of the Caliphs, the Amirs, the Sultans and the rulers of the various Islamic dominions, devoted their talents to the service of medical science. They not only preserved the ancient Medical science but, as I have already remarked, also made considerable addition to it, on the basis of their own observation and experience.

In this connection I have already referred to Abú Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyya al-Razi (Rhazes of the Europeans). He had been in charge of many hospitals, had introduced in them the system of keeping complete records of cases, and attached great importance, like Susruta, to the practical training of the students. He has been accepted as the earliest writer on modern chemistry, Prof. J. Ruska has greatly admired his book, *kitábu-Sirri'l*-Asrár (The book of Secret of the Secrets). He was the first to have prepared alkahol, sulphuric Acid, Nitric acid, and hydrochloric acid. He has been accepted as the earliest writer on modern chemistry, His work on pox has been translated into 13 European languages, and is considered to be an ornament to medical literature. He may be said to be the father of Pediatrics. He is said to have anticipated the Condition Reflex theory of Sherrington.

But among the Arabic medical writers the pride of place is given to Abu-'Álí-Ḥusain b. 'Abdalláh b. Sina (Avicenna—980—1036). His Qanun (Canon) was considered to be the most authoritative book on medicine, in Europe, for five centuries, (12—17h Century), And it is accepted as the greatest authority on Unáni Tibb, in India till the present day.

Avicenna introduced the method of dry dressing of the wounds, of the removal of all tissues and blood-vessels of the affected parts and adjoining areas, in the cases of cancer. He introduced waterbeds and many other innovations in the treatment of several diseases.

In addition to Rhazez and Avicenna many other Arabic medical writers introduced many other changes and improvements in the

Greek system of medicine. They anticipated the so-called modern theory of the circulation of blood and the germ theory. They made great improvements in symptematology, in special pathology, in epidemiology, in opthalmology, in dietetics, in toxicology and in midwifery. They introduced the process of bleeding for the treatment of haemorrhage and apoplexy, performed gastric lavage, used oppotherapy, and could keep a patient unconscious for seven days. They made important contributions to therapeutics, to pharmacy and to pharmaceutical techniques and used many drugs and chemicals, which were unknown to the Greeks.

The Greek medicine thus largely improved, partly modified and better-systematised by the Arabic medical writers, was carried to Europe by the Jews during the 12th and the 13th centuries. About the same time it was brought to India by the Muslims, and has been cultivated and followed throughout the country side by side with the Ayurvedic system.

Most of the Muslim rulers of India and of its various parts were educated men highly interested in medicine, and some of them were well-versed in it. They attracted the best Ḥakíms from the various parts of the Islamic dominions, and reputed Vaidyas from the different parts of India, to their capitals, paid them high salaries and conferred upon them titles and also, occasionally, gave them large monetary grants and landed properties. They founded numerous free hospitals in various parts of the country and collected large libraries and persuaded the Ḥakíms to develop the healing art.

During the reign of 'Alaud'di'n Khalji, there were numerous reputed Hakims and Vaidyas in Delhi whose names are mentioned by Barani, in the *Ta'rikhi-Firozsháhi* (p. 363). Muhammad b. Tughlaq was well-versed in Yunáni Tibb and personally examined and treated the patients and discussed medical problems with the Ḥakíms. At his persuasion Hakim Ḍiyá Muhammad the son of Muhammad Mas'ud compiled in 1320 A.D. a book, the *Majmuai Ḍiyá'iyya,* on the basis of Arabic, Persian and also some Ayurvedic works. In the book there is reference, to another book the *Majmu' ai-Shamsiyya,* which was compiled earlier by Shamsu'd-din Mustaufi' which is said to be a Persian translation of an Ayurvedic book. Firozsháh Tughlaq had thorough knowledge of Yunáni Ṭibb. He had dictated a book the *Tibbi Firozsháhí,* on the subject, and personally attended the patients in a large free hospital founded by him-

self. Mian Bhowa, the Lord Chamberlain of Sikandar Lodhi, collected together numerous competent Hakims and Vaidyas and got compiled by them a book on Indian system of medicine, on the basis of a dozen of important works. This book is known as *Ma'danush-Shifa'i-Sikandari.* Mian Ṭáhá, another Amir of Sikandar Lodhi, according to a contemporary historian, was well-versed not only in Islamic Literature and Indian music and arts and crafts, but also in Indian system of medicine. He remembered by heart twenty-four thousand verses on Indian medicine, and Hindu experts in art and medicine took lessons from him in these subjects.

The provincial Muslim rulers of the various parts of India followed the foot-steps of the Sultans of Delhi, encouraged their court physicians to develop medical literature. Thus during the regin of Muzaffar Sháh of Gujarat, Ḥakím Shihabuddnin compiled two books on medicine; (1) *Tibbi-Shifa'l-Kháni* in Persian prose and (2) *Tibbi-Shihábí,* in Persian poetry. He compiled these books on the basis of Arabic, Persian and some Ayurvedic works, and took help in this connection from some Yogis. He has mentioned in the book, the names of certain drugs in Sanskrit as well as in Sindhi. After him Ḥakím' Alí Muḥammad the court physician of Maḥmúd Sháh (1458—1510 A.D.), translated at his command, with the help of some Pundits, a book of Vaghat, from Sanskrit into Persian.

In the Deccan under the Bahmani ruler, Maḥmúd Shah (1378—1396 A.D.), were translated certain Ayurvedic works into Persian, in three volumes. It was named the *Tibbi-Shifa'i-Maḥmudi.* Under the 'Ādil-Sháhí dynasty of Bijapure, Ḥakim Muhamad Qa'sim Hindu' Shah, generally known as Farishta, wrote in the year 1590 A.D. a book, the *Dastú-ru'-Aṭibbá,* which is called *Ikhtiyarati qasimi* also. In the introduction to this book he says that at first he made a deep study of the Ṭibbi-Yunani and afterwards he studied the Ayurvedic system of medicine also and found its theories as well as its practice well-founded, though at the outset they appeared to be strange. He says that he also closely associated with some of the Vaidyas. To several of them he has referred by name. 'Alá'udd'in Aḥmad Sháh II, of Bahmani' dynasty, founded a large free hospital at Bidar, and appointed Ḥakíms as well as Vaidyas, to attend the patients. He also established a medical school which was attached to the hospital. In his court there were numerous Hakims and Vaidyas some of whom compiled some important medical books. As a matter of fact since the advent of the Muslims, the Deccan has ever been one of the important centres of the Yunáni Tibb in India.

Like Gujarat and the Deccan, the rulers of each of the local Indian Muslim states had in their courts several Hakims and Vaidyas, some of whom made their own contributions to the development of the Yunani Tibbi literature in India.

The advent of theMughals added largely to the popularity, progress and glory of Yunáni Ṭibb in this country. They gave the Ḥakims much higher position and paid them much higher salaries, giving some of them Rs. 50,000 per annum, and occasionally bestowed upon them much higher reward in cash and kind than their predecessors. Thus they attracted to India many more highly qualified Ḥakíms from Iran and other places than their predecessors, and encouraged them to cultivate and advance the Yunáni Ṭibb in this country. They also established a net-work of new free public hospitals in all the large cities of the country.

"The hospitals", as Ibn Jubair remarks in his *Travels,* "are among the great glories of Islam". The hospitals being first established in the second half of the first century of Islamic era, spread simultaneously with Islamic power and Arabian Medicine, in all the countries conquered by the Muslims, and ultimately, served as models for the modern European hospitals.

The first Arabian hospital was founded by Walíd b. 'Abdal'-Malik in the year 88 A. H. (707 A.D.). He built guest houses for the travellers, homes for the blind and the lepers and a hospital for the sick, and provided them with all their requirements. By and by the hospitals increased in number. Every big town had its own hospital and arrangements were made to provide medical aid for the people of the villages also, at least, at the time of emergency.

Many of them which were established at various towns in Arabia, Syria, Africa and other Islamic countries are described by the Arabic writers. I may describe two of them here so that you may have a clear idea of their standard and efficiency.

'Abdul Wáḥid', a historian of Morocco, has described the hospital of his native town and has been quoted by Elgood. He writes :—"Here was constructed a hospital which, I think, is unequalled in the world. First there was selected a large open space in the most level part of the town. Orders were given to architects to construct a hospital as well as possible. So the workmen embellished it with a beauty, sculpture and ornamentation even beyond what

was demanded of them. All sorts of suitable trees were planted there. Water there was in abundance flowing through all the rooms. In addition there were four large pools in the centre of the building, one of which was lined with white marble. The hospital was furnished with valuable carpets of wool, cotton, silk, and leather, so wonderful that I can't even describe them. A daily allowance of thirty dinars was assigned for the daily ration of food exclusive of the drugs and the chemicals which were on hand for the preparation of draughts ungents, and collyria. For the use of the patients there were provided day-dresses and night-dresses, thick dresses for winter and thin dresses for summer."

"A poor patient when leaving the hospital received a sum of money sufficient to keep him going for some time. The founder of the hospital visited it every Friday and enquired from the patients how were they being treated."

A similar hospital was founded by Mohammad Qalau'n at Cairo in 1284 A.D. It was known as Manṣuri Hospital.

According to al-Maqrizí[1] it was situated in a large palace occupying an area of ten thousand and six hundred yards. It contained four large buildings each of which had around itself large open fields with tanks and fountains. For the expenses of the hospitals and other connected charitable institutions, the founder had made an endowment of properties yielding an annual income of about ten lacs of dirhams, and appointed officials to manage them and maintain complete account of the income and expenditure. The hospital was open to the poor as well as the rich, military men as well as the civilian, the adults as well as the children, the free men as well as the slaves, the males as well as the females. It was provided with all the medicaments and other requirements of the patients including beds and clothes for them. Competent physicians and male and female servants and nurses with fixed pay and allowances. were appointed to attend and take care of them. The main halls of the four buildings were fixed particularly for the patients suffering from fever and similar diseases. There were special wards for the eye-patients, for surgical cases and for those suffering from diarrhoea. There was a particular ward for the patients suffering from cold diseases. Water flowed through all the various wards. There were separate independent rooms for pharmacy, for dispensary. for kitchen and for stores. The number of the patients and the period

1. *A Medical History of Persia*, pp. 176-77.

of their stay in the hospital were not fixed. There were arrangements for all kinds of help for outdoor patients also.

To some of the hospitals, however, were attached medical colleges also. The dispensary of some of them rivalled the royal palaces as treasure house of works of arts like porcelain vases, pitchers etc.

By and by the number of hospitals in Islamic dominions increased largely. The small town of Arbela for example had four asylums for the blind and patients of the chronic diseases. In Cairo there were three big hospitals. In Baghdad there were sixty well ornagised medical institutions. Tamerlane who is generally known only for his cruelty, had decreed that each city of his realm should be provided with at least one mosque, one school, one guest house and one hospital.

India did not lag behind the other Islamic dominions in the number and excellence of its hospitals. According to Elliott and Dawson[2] in Delhi under Muhammad b. Tughlaq there were seventy hospitals. His successor Firoz Shah founded several others. Sher Shah had appointed a physician in every guest-house which he had established throughout his dominion. The twelve Firmans issued by Jehangir, included one for the establishment of a hospital, in every big town.

As a matter of fact most of the Muslim rulers and Governors of India and its various parts were well educated and some of them were especially interested in the science of medicine. Throughout the reign of 'Ala'udd'in Khalji there lived in Delhi such scholars and savants as were unrivalled in the other parts of Islamic dominions. Barani has given the names of many of them including those of Muslim physicians and Hindu Vaidyas.

Some of the Muslim Indian rulers were highly interested in the science of medicine and were well-versed in it. Muhammad Tughlaq had a good knowledge of medical science, treated many patients of various diseases and successfully discussed medical problems with the experts in the subjects. Firozsháh Tughlaq had a good knowledge of astronomy and medicine, and dictated a book the *Tibbi Firozsháhi* on the science of medicine which is a proof of his mastery of the subject. He was a good bone-setter, and was keenly interested in opthalmology.

2. Vol. III, pp. 576.

These and other Muslim rulers of India established numerous hospitals throughout their dominions as it has been already said. The ruins of some of them can be still seen in certain parts of the country.

Fírozsháh has referred in his *Futuḥat* to the foundation of a hospital for all classes of patients, to the appointment of medical men for their treatment and to the free supply of medicine to all of them. 'Afif has confirmed the statement of Fírozsháh, in his *Tárikhi-Firozsháhi* (pp. 353—359). He made an endowment of villages yielding an annual income of thirty-six lacs of Tankas, for the upkeep of the hospitals and other work of poor-relief.

The Muslim practitioners of the Arabian medicine and the Hindu Vaidyas worked together in the Indian hospitals, for the relief of the patients. It is recorded that in the hospital which was founded by 'Aláuddín Aḥmad II of the Bahmani dynasty of Bidar, the Muslim Ḥakíms and the Hindu Vaidyas both treated the patients.[3] Similarly, in the hospital which was founded by Nawab Khayr Andish Khan at Etawa, during the reign of 'Alamgir, the Hakims as well as the Vaidyas were employed by the Nawab, to treat and attend the patients. He has mentioned their names also in the introduction to his book, the *Khayrut-Tajario.* It is on the Islamic hospitals of the middle ages that are modelled, according to Meyerhof and Elgood, the Modern European hospitals.

The Indian Ḥakíms, however, made large contribution to Ṭibbi Yunani literature. A large part of this literature consisted of the translations, commentaries or summaries of Arabic medical books, or of the translations or adaptations of Ayurvedic works. Some of these works are based on any one or both of them. The *Ṭibbi-Akbar* of Ḥakím M. Akbar Arzáni is based on the Greek system. The *Ṭibbi-Aurangzebí* which was dedicated to Aurangzeb is based entirely on Ayurvedic works. The *Mu'alajáti-Darashikohi* of Nur-uddin 'Abdallah which was dedicated to Ḍarashikoh, is based mainly on the Greek system, but contains at the end almost the whole of Ayurvedic Materia Medica.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Indian Ḥakíms made no independent contribution to the so-called Tibbi Yunani. The author of the *Khula'satu't-Tajarib,* after summarising the Greek theories, mainly according to Avicenna, described a large number of

3. Sherwani. *Bahmanis of the Deccan,* pp. 227-228.

diseases and their treatment, gave clinical description of many cases and mentioned the medicaments according to the Greek as well as the Ayurvedic system, on the basis of his personal experience. He laid it down *that in the science of medicine experience is the basic principle of treatment.* He described several diseases, including whooping cough, which were not recognized in Europe for centuries after him. He has often referred to Greek authors but very seldom to Ayurvedic works. Hakim Sharif Khan (1725—1806 A.D.) in his *Tálifii-Sharífí,* collected together the names of such Indian drugs as he had tried and found useful. In his *Tuḥfai-'Alam Sháhi* he has discussed the properties of various Indian fruits, vegetables and diets and has remarked that a patient may be easily cured of his ailments, by proper diet only.

The Ṭibbi-Yunani as received from the Arabic writers, consists of two main parts: (1) the Kulliyyat, i.e. the basic theoretical general principles, (2) the Múálaját i.e. the therapeutics. The former deals with the constitution of the human organism and of its various parts, their health and disease, and their causes and symptoms, and the general principles of their diagnosis including the pulse and its various classes, and the urine and its contents and special features. It also discusses the various classes of patients and their diseases and the basic principle of their treatments. The second part i.e. the Mualaját or the therapeutics deals in detail, with the diseases of the various parts of the body and their diagnosis and treatment. It includes Materia Medica and pharmacy as well as the weights and measures used in prescribing them for the various diseases and in preparing the compound medicines.

The Indian Ḥakíms generally, accepted the first part of Greek medicine as they received them from the Arabic medical writers, without modifying them in any way. As a matter of fact they do not appear to have produced any important book on the subject. But on the second part they wrote numerous books, some of which have been already mentioned. In them, they have not only mentioned what was stated by the Arabic writers, but also absorbed whatever they found to be of practical utility in the Ayurvedic works, and also added to them the results of their own experience.

One of the important Indian Ḥakíms whose works have been popular for more than two centuries, was Muḥammad Akbar Arzání of the 17th—18th century. He compiled half a dozen of books. The most popular of them are (a) the *Tibbi Akbar,*

(b) the *Mizánut-Ṭibb* and (c) the *Mufarrinul-Qulúb*. The first of them deals with the various diseases of the organism and of its various parts, from head to foot, and their treatment. It is mainly based on the *Sharḥu'l-Asbábi wal-'Alámát* of Nafís Kirmái. But some addition has been made from several other well-known Arabic works as well from the personal experience of the author. The second of them is a handbook of Unáni-Ṭibb.

The third book, the *Mufarriḥul-Qulúb*, is a commentary in Persian on the *Qanuncha* of Ḥakím Muḥammad al-Chaghmíní. It deals with the general basic principles of the Ṭibbi-Yunani. In this book Muḥammad Akbar has explained briefly the basic constituents of human organism and of its various parts, and their anatomy, physiology and pathology; has discussed the principles of health and disease and its causes, the methods of its diagnosis and treatment, the different classes of patients, and the processes which may help in keeping up the health and in regaining it if it is disturbed.

In dealing with all these topics, the author has made use of numerous Arabic medical works, and in certain cases, has also added some interesting results of his personal experience. While dealing with small-pox, for example, he says that his own son suffered from a severe attack of it. Big rashes appeared all over his body. The boy felt great pain and heat which never subsided. He, therefore, against the general practice and strong protest of the old members of his family, pricked the rashes with a fine gold pin. As the result of it watery substance flowed out of the rashes and the boy was completely cured in three hours. After this he used this process in many other cases of small-pox also, and it always proved successful.

Muḥammad Akbar Arzáni also compiled (i) a Materia Medica (*Qarabadini-Qadiri*) (ii) a book on Indian system of medicine (*Tibbi Hindi*), and a treatise containing his personal medical experiences, (*Mujarrabati-Akbari*). He attached more importance to experience than to theory.

Many other Indian Ḥakíms composed similar books. The last and the most exhaustive of them are (a) the *Iksire-A'ẓam* on the therapeutics and (b) the *Muḥiti-A'zam* on the simple drugs by Ḥakím Muhammad A'zam Khán of Rampur.

He belonged to a family of distinguished physicians, studied Islamic Sciences and Yunani Medicine with the distinguished

scholars and physicians, and associated and worked with them in their dispensaries. He acquired good reputation as a Yunani physician and secured the patronage of some of the influential Muslim and Hindu chiefs. He collected a rich library of medical books and made a critical study of them and on their basis, and that of his personal experience, produced several books on Ṭibbi Yunáni. The most important of them are the two books mentioned above.

He completed the *Iksiri-A'ẓam* in 1290 A.H. (1873 A.D.). It is a large, learned, comprehensive book on the Yunani therapeutics in four big volumes, based on more than one hundred authoritative Arabic and Persian books on the subject. Having discussed the various classes of disease in general and the general principles of their diagnosis and treatment, the author has described the particular diseases of the different parts of the organism, their general and special causes, and the methods of their diagnosis, and has discussed the method of their treatment in detail. At the end of the discussion of the treatment of each disease he has added the remarks of some of the important physicians about it, and in certain cases, has also mentioned some of the Yunani drugs, and in some cases the Indian drugs also, which were found by experience to be specially effective in curing it. At the end of the book he has mentioned the weights and measures which are used in prescribing the drugs and preparing their compounds.

The book has been popular among Indian Ḥakíms and in spite of its large size has already undergone four editions.

The Muḥiṭi A'zam was completed in 1297 A.H. (1880 A.D.). It is based on more than sixty-eight authoritative books on drugs, including the Vaidyaka-works, and comprehends all the known simple drugs of various countries belonging to either animal, vegetable or mineral kingdom. In the introduction the author has discussed in detail, the differences between the food and the medicine and their various classes, as well as the general principles for determining their 'temperaments' and properties by observation and reason or by experiment, has explained the various technical terms applied to different classes of drugs and the period of their utility. At the end of the introduction the author has added two sections from Vaidyaka-works. In these sections he has discussed the basic Indian Medical Theories, the good and the bad properties of some of the Indian drugs, and their weights and measures according to the Indian system.

Having dealt with preliminary matters the author has given in

alphabetical order, the commonly known names of the drugs and their Arabic, Persian and in certain cases, also their Turkish and Sanskrit equivalents. He has also given the names of the places where they grow, and described their appearance and various particulars by which they might be properly indentified. He has discussed their medicinal properties and in certain cases, has added the remarks of some physicians about them. It is learned, instructive and useful Materia Medica.

Some of the Indian Ḥakím also composed special treatises on important topics like the Pulse, the Urine, the critical days and the diseases of the particular organs like heart, stomach, etc.

The various types of the movement of the pulse serve the Ḥakíms as the most important source of information with regard to the patients and their ailments. It indicates to them not only the age, the sex, the peculiar constitution, and the strength and the weakness of the patients but also the condition of the organs and their different parts, and their diseases and their various stages and other delicate fine aspects.

All these fine features of the movements of the pulse have been described and discussed by the Ḥakíms in their books in detail. They were developed by the combined experience of thousands of physicians in two thousand years. They have also described the time and the method of feeling the pulse and remarked that in order to find out by means of it the disease and its various aspects the fingers of the Ḥakím must be soft and sensitive and he must possess balanced mind and proper quick perception, and must be well-conversant with the pulse of the patient while he was healthy. It must be noted that in order to depend upon the findings by means of the pulse, not only a theoretical knowledge of what has been written about it, but also actual deep and wide experience of it is necessary.

It is by the mastery of the pulse and its movements that some of the eminent Ḥakíms succeeded in the diagnosis and treatment of certain cases in which recognised great Allopaths had failed. A few examples of it are given below :—

(1) Ḥakím Muḥammad Khán of Delhi the well-known practitioner of the Ṭibbi-Yunani, and one of the great leaders of the Indian Freedom Movement and President of the Indian National Congress, was once introduced in London, by Dr. M.A. Ansari, another important Indian political leader and President of the Congress, to Sir Stanley the famous British surgeon whom he told that the

Ḥakím was a highly successful practitioner of the Ṭibbi-Yunáni. The great surgeon was pleased at it and asked the Ḥakím to examine one of his patients (who suffered from fever, jaundice and pain in the stomach) and diagnose the basic cause of his ailment. The Ḥakím examined his pulse and stomach in his own way, and said that the basic cause of the ailment was the chronic wound in the upper intestines. But Sir Stanley was of the opinion that the basic cause was the inflammation of the gall-bladder. Having heard the Ḥakím, he said that it was a test case which should decide the comparative merit of the ancient Greek and the modern Allopathic systems of medicine. He added that he would open the stomach of the patient the next day, and invited the Ḥakím to be present at the operation. The operation was actually performed by him, in the presence of the Ḥakím and of Dr. Ansari who was then his house surgeon. It revealed that the diagnosis of the Ḥakím was correct. Sir Stanley as a great Englishman, acknowledged his defeat and paid tribute to the Ḥakím.[4]

(2) In another case the same Ḥakím proved the success of the Ṭibbí-Yunáni against a highly reputed French doctor of Paris. The Ḥakím, who suffered from chronic stomach trouble, was taken to a reputed doctor in Paris who was requested to examine him. During the examination the doctor was told that the patient was a very successful practitioner of the Ṭibbi-Yunáni. He was annoyed at it, condemned the ancient system and challenged the Ḥakím to diagnose the disease of a woman patient of his, which had puzzled and perplexed him. She suffered from pain in the stomach for about a year and her legs were shrinking so that she could not walk about properly. The pathalogical examinations and X-Ray plates had failed to indicate the basic cause. The Ḥakím called the pâtient to his residence, examined the pulse, the stomach and the legs of the woman, and asked her life history and her various activities. He was told that she did a good deal of riding and was fond of playing tennis. The Ḥakím was unable to make a definite diagnosis. But he surmised that probably while she had

4. *Hayati Ajmal*, Qadi M.A. Ghaffar pp. 98–100.

been riding or playing tennis, her intestine might have been upset and consequently the related organs could not funciton properly. He gave her medicine to rectify the intestines. It had the desired effect. Wihin 15 days she began to walk about and ultimately was completely cured. The patient as well as her doctor was surprised at it. The doctor paid him great tribute and introduced him to all the eminent doctors of Paris.[5]

(3) Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the famous lawyer of your town once fell ill very seriously. All the Allopaths gave up the case as hopeless. At last Ḥakím-Abdul-Wahháb Nabina (the blind), the elder brother of the above mentioned Dr. M. A. Ansari and a well-reputed physician of his time, was called. He treated him successfully so that he was completely cured of his ailment and lived a normal life for several years after it.

(4) Kumar Amar Singh, the eldest son of Kumar Gopal Saran of Tikari, suffered from pain in the stomach for a short time after taking every meal. He was eight years of age. The complaint continued for several months. Several eminent Allopaths were consulted. All of them unanimously diagnosed that it was due to small knots in some of the intestines. They opened the stomach and found that the intestines were quite all right. But the pain continued after the operation also. Then Ḥakím Muḥammad Ishaq a reputed physician of Patna was consulted. After the usual examination of the pulse, the stomach and the urine, he diagnosed that the pain was due to the failure of the liver to function properly. On this basis he treated the patient who was cured within two weeks and never suffered from it during more than forty years of his life.

Ḥakím Abdul-Hameed of the Hamdard Dawakhana of Delhi, finds out the exact age of the patient by examining his pulse.

These and similar other cases have been keeping the reputation and popularity of the Ṭibbi-Yunáni in India up to the present time as it might be judged from the large crowd of patients gathering at the Ṭibbi hospitals and the dispensaries of the reputed Ḥakíms at different places in the country.

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5. *Hayati-Ajmal, op. cit.*, pp. 342—344.

SĀYAṆA'S SUBHĀṢITA-SUDHĀNIDHI AND SŪRYAPAṆḌITA'S SUBHĀṢITARATNAHĀRA

By L. STERNBACH*

1. *Identity of Sāyaṇa's Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi with Sūryapaṇḍita's Sūktiratnahāra*[1]

1.. In 1968, Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Karnatak University, Dharwar, published a Sanskrit Anthology called *Subhāṣita-sudhā-nidhi* by Sāyaṇa (Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1968), which he placed in the first half of the fourteenth century A.D., since it contains an eulogy of Kaṁpaṇa who most likely died in 1455 A.D.

Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy ends his introduction with the following paragraph: "Among the later writers (*sic!*) who are indebted to this work (i.e. SSSN) very much, Sūryapaṇḍita, author of *Subhāṣitaratnāhāra* (published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) deserves first mention......" That is the only mention of SRHt. in Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy's Preface and Introduction.

2. I venture to suggest that the two works, i.e., Sāyaṇa's *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* and Sūryapaṇḍita's *Subhāṣitaratnahāra* are one and the same work. Both are from the first half of the fourteenth century[2] and the author of this anthology may well be Sāyaṇa, since it is unlikely that Sūrya Kāliṅgarāya i.e. the Asādhāraṇa *mantrin* of King Kulaśekhara (subordinate of the Pāṇḍya king Mārarvarman Kulaśekhara I who reigned between 1268 and 1308) could have been the real compiler of SRHt.

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1. See abbreviations pages 179—184

2. Cf. SSSN. p. 2 sqq.; S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I; p. 414; Dr. V. Raghavan in *Journal of Oriental Research* XIII; pp. 293—306.

2.1. The arrangement of the two works is identical; both are divided into four *parva-s i.e. dharma—, artha—, kāma—* and *mokṣa-parva-s*, each devoted to one *puruṣārtha;* the *paddhati-s,* into which both works are divided, are almost the same (i.e. their titles and contents), although their order is often different.

2.2 In SRHt. the *paddhati-s* run consecutively from 1—202 (divided into: *dharma* 1—37; *artha* 38—181; *kāma* 182—195; and *mokṣa* 196—202) while in SSSN. they begin in each *parva* from 1 (*dharma* 1—35; *artha* 1—137; *kāma* 1—47; *mokṣa* 1—15). In both anthologies *the paddhati-s* deal mostly first with the positive side of a subject and then with the negative side of the same subject (e.g. SSSN. 1.10 and SRHt. 8 deal with *dharma* and SSSN. 1. 11 and SRHt 9 with *adharma* or with *dāna* and *adāna,* or with *bhrātṛ, sad-bhrātṛ* and *asad-bhrātṛ*). The titles of the *paddhati-s* are, as a rule, identical, though sometimes either SRHt. or SSSN. gives a longer description to the same title, e.g., *satya-paddhati* and *satya-praśaṁsā-paddhati;* sometimes synonyms are used i.e. we find in SSSN. (2.109) the *aśva-paddhati* and in SRHt. (97) the *turaga-praśaṁsā-paddhati.*

2.3 The contents of the various *paddhati-s,* particularly of the longest *parva-s,* the *artha-parva* and partly the *dharma-parva,* are almost identical; only the *kāma-parva* of SSSN. (beginning from SSSN. 13) is much longer[3] than the *kāma-parva* of SRHt. and several *paddhati-s* though bear the same titles contain quite different *subhāṣita-s* (see Annex II).

2.3.1. SRHt. transferred two *paddhati-s* dealing with *veśyā-s* (*veśyā-praśaṁsā-*) (113=SSSN. 3.2) and *veśyā-nindā-paddhati* (114= SSSN. 3.3) to the *artha-parva* while in SSSN. they are more properly included in the *kāma-parva.* Also SSSN. transferred one *paddhati,* i.e. the *kāvya-praśaṁsā-paddhati* from the *dharma-parva* to the *artha-parva,* where it is better suited (viz. SSSN. 2.52=SRHt. 30).

2.3.2. It is evident from Annex I which *paddhati-s* are identical or almost identical in both anthologies.[4] The identity of both

3. On the other hand the *paddhati-s* of the *dharma-parva* of SRHt., identical with the *paddhati-s* of the *dharma-parva* of SSSN. are longer. but SSSN. contains in the *dharma-parva* some *paddhati-s* not included in SRHt.

4. Very seldom SSSN. combines two *paddhati-s* of SRHt. in one and mixes up *subhasita-s* of both *paddhati-s* in one; e.g. SSSN. 20 (*strinindapa°*) combines SRHt. 53 (*strīvyāsa—°*) and 54 (*strīnindā-paddhati*); or combines two *paddhati-s*

these anthologies does not mean, however, that the readings are exactly the same (although the variants are usually of no great importance), or that the order of the *subhāṣita-s* is exactly the same. Generally, both anthologies use the same *subhāṣita-s* in the appropriate *paddhati-s,* change somewhat their order, leave out some and add other similar ones, particularly at the end of the *paddhati-s* which prove on the one side that the main source was the same, and on the other that the compilers have shown some individuality in their compilatory work. Particularly in SRHt. the compiler added at the end of the *paddhati-s* numerous *prākṛta-subhāṣita-s,* while the compiler of SSSN. added *prākṛta-subhāṣita-s* seldom.

2.1. Additions by the compiler of SSSN. of some *subhāṣita-s* (not found in the appropriate *paddhati-s* of SRHt. and often found in other *paddhati-s* of the latter work) were made unnecessarily, without proper reflection and without knowing his own text well; that seems to show that the compiler of SSSN. was posterior to the compiler of SRHt. And so, we find in SSSN. several *subhāṣita-s* quoted in two different places—two different *paddhati-s,* though they belong properly in one *paddhati* only and were unnecessarily quoted for the second time in another *paddhati.* (E.g. SSSN. 1.2.5 and 2.52.1=SRHt. 30.1 should have been quoted only once in 2.52.1; SSSN. 2.35. 88–89 and 2.63.12; 15 =SRHt. 82.15; 15 should have been quoted only once in 2.63.12 and 2.63.14 respectively; SSSN. 2.35.90 and 2.64.11=SRHt. 23.11 should have been quoted only once in 2.64.11; SSSN. 2.11.7 and 2.35.77=SRHt. 157.99 should have been quoted only once in 2.35.77; SSSN. 2.121.6 and 3.11.6= SRHt. 168.8 should have been quoted only once in 2.121.6; SSSN. 2.132.8 and 2.130.18=SRHt. 174.8 should have been quoted only

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into two other *paddhati-s e.g.* SSSN. 2.67 (=SRHt. 87) (both *mantradeśa-*) and SSSN. 68 (=SRHt. 86) (*mantrakāla-paddhati*); or divides one *paddhati* of SRHt. into two (SSSN. 2. 131 and 131 *a.*) *āśā—* and *tṛṣṇā—* (=SRHt. 175) *tṛṣṇā-nindā-paddhati.*

SRHt. has two *paddhati-s* called *daṇḍanīti* (73 and 131). Probably the first of these *paddhati-s* is a later addition; SRHt.'s 131 *paddhati* equals SSSN. 2.72, while SRHt. 73 has no corresponding *paddhati* in SSSN. and none of the *subhāṣita-s* included in this *paddhati* of SRHt. are found in SSSN; SRHt. ascribes the 12 subhāṣita-s of this *paddhati* to Manu, *Mahābhārata,* Kauṭilya, *Rāmāyaṇa, Viṣṇu-purāṇa* and Kamandaki. SRHt. (67) and SSSN. (26) have also a common *paddhati* called *daṇḍapāruṣya-paddhati* composed in majority of MBh.'s verses. Cf. footnote 7 below.

once in 2.132.8; SSSN. 2.137.24 and 1.44.13=SRHt. 181.30 should have been quoted only once in 2.137.24; SSSN. 2.137.9 and 2.4.32= SRHt. 181.54 should have been quoted only once in 2.137.39).

2.5. That the text of SSSN. and SRHt. are identical and that the compiler of SSSN. did not choose independently the material from primary sources but from SRHt.[5] is evident from the fact that if different readings occur in the primary source and in SSSN. the readings adopted in SSSN. are identical with those of SRHt. and not with those of the original source.[6]

2.6. That the texts of both anthologies are identical can also be seen, for instance from the fact that both contain several verses composed in six *pāda-s*, which is rather a rare occurrence, since almost all *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* contain only *subhāṣita-s* composed in four *pāda-s*. The only MS available to the editor of SRHt. had in the 49th *paddhati* a penultimate verse composed in six *pāda-s;* therefore, when quoting it he rightly marked the first four *pāda-s* of it as 49.5 and the next two *pāda-s* as 49.6 with dots (inferring the loss of the next two *pāda-s*). The MSS. used for the edition of SSSN. had in the same place also a verse composed of six *pāda-s* which the editor marked as one (2.22.5).

2.6.1. Also *subhāṣita-s* composed in six *pāda-s* occur for instance in SSSN. 2.26.3=SRHt. 67.4+*ab* of 67.5;[7] SSSN. 2.36.2= SRHt.+158.3–158.3½;[8] SSSN. 2.38.10=SRHt. 159.11+11½; SSSN. 2.42.6=SRHt. 154.4+*ab* of an unmarked next half-verse;

5. See paras 5 and 2.4.

6. See below para 9.1.

7.

SRHt.	SSSN.	MBh (Bh)
67.1 *ab/cd*	2.26.1 *ab/cd*	3.29.17 *ab/cd*
67.2 *ab*	2.26.2 *ab*	3.29.19 *cd*
67.2 *cd*	2.26.2 *cd*	3.29.20 *ab*
67.3 *ab*	missing	3.29.20 *cd*
67.3 *cd*	missing	3.29.21 *cd*+12.123.16 *cd*
67.4 *ab*	2.26.3 *ab*	
67.4 *cd*	2.26.3 *cd*	
67.5 *ab*	2.26.3 *ef.*	
67.5 *cd*	2.26.4 *ab*	
67.5 ½	2.26.4 *cd*	

8. In SRHt. 158 3½ belongs to 158.3.

and SSSN. 2.64.9=SRHt. 83.8½+83.9.[9] Also in SSSN. a verse composed in six *pāda-s* occurs in 2.102.3. This is a corrupt text of KN. The first three *subhāṣita-s* (and in SRHt., the first four of the 92nd *paddhati*) were taken from KN. in the following manner:

SRHt. 92	SSSN. 2.102	KN (ĀNSS.)
1 *ab/cd*	1 *ab/cd*	4.48 *ab/cd*
2 *ab/cd*	2 *ab/cd*	4.50 *ab/cd*
3 *ab*	3 *ab*	4.52 *cd*
3 *cd*	missing	4.53 *ab*
4 *ab*	3 *cd*	4.53 *cd*
4 *cd*	3 *ef*	4.54 *ab*

In this instance the text of SSSN. is incomplete.

2.6.2. Another example of six-*pāda* verses occur in SSSN. 2.86.7 and 11 (in the group 2.86.2 to 11=SRHt. 145.2 to 13). This group of verses was borrowed from MBh. in the following manner:

SRHt. 145	SSSN. 2.86	MBH (Bh)
145.2 *ab/cd*	2.86.2 *ab/cd*	12.69.33 *ab/cd*
145.3 *ab/cd*	missing	12.69.36 *ab/cd*
145.4 *ab/cd*	2.86.3 *ab/cd*	12.69.37 *ab/cd*
145.5 *ab/cd*	2.86.4 *ab/cd*	12.69.42 *ab/cd*
145.6 *ab/cd*	2.86.5 *ab/cd*	12.69.43 *ab/cd*
145.7 *ab/cd*	2.86.6 *ab/cd*	12.69.44 *ab/cd*
145.8 *ab*	2.86.7 *ab*	12.69.45 *ab*
145.8 *cd*	2.86.7 *cd*	12.69.46 *ab*

9.

SRHt.	SSSN.	MBh (Bh)
83.6 *ab/cd*	2.64.6 *ab/cd*	12.84.23 *ab/cd*
83.7 *ab/cd*	2.64.7 *ab/cd*	12.84.24 *ab/cd*
83.8 *ab*	2.64.8 *ab*	12.94.16 *cd*
83.8 *cd*	2.64.8 *cd*	12.94.17 *ab*
83.8 ½	2.64.9 *ab*	12.94.17 *cd*
83.9 *ab/cd*	2.64.9 *cd/ef*	

In SSSN. SRHt. 83. 8½ has been wrongly combined with SRHt. 83.9 as SSSN. 2.64.9.

145.9 *ab*	2.86.7 *cf*	12.69.46 *cd*
145.9 *cd*	2.86.8 *ab*	12.69.49 *ab*
145. 10 *ab*	2.86.8 *cd*	12.69.49 *cd*
145.10 *cd*	2.86.9 *ab*	12.138.12 *ab*
145.11 *ab*	2.86.9 *cd*	12.138.12 *cd*
145.11 *cd*	2.86.10 *ab*	15.11.18 *ab*
145.12 *ab*	2.86.10 *cd*	15.11.18 *cd*
145.12 *cd*	2.86.11 *ab*	15.11 19 *ab*
145.13 *ab*	2.86.11 *cd*	12.129.14 *ab*
145.13 *cd*	2.86.11 *ef*	12.129.14 *cd*

On the contrary, here SSSN. follows more closely the primary source (i.e. MBh) than SRHt. (SSSN. 2.86.2; 2.86.9; 2.86.10) with the exception however of the second six-pāda verse (2.86.11) which wrongly combines MBh (Bh) 15.11.19 *ab* with 12.129.14 *ab*. It would have been better to have 2.86.10 (and not 2.86.11) as a six-*pāda* verse, or to divide this *paddhati* into 12 verses in the same manner as SRHt. did.

2.6.3. Where SSSN. does not follow the SRHt. text and mixes up some verses, the work of the compiler of SSSN. is rather sloppy. That is, for instance, the case of SSSN. 2.82.6 to 11. The division is there as follows:

SRHt. 141	SSSN.2.82	MBh (Bh)
141.6 *ab/cd*	2.82.6	12.101.9 *cd*+10 *ab*
141.7 *ab*	2.82.9 *cd*	12.101.10 *cd*
141.7 *cd*	2.82.10 *ab*	
141.8 *ab*	2.82.10 *cd*	
141.8 *cd*	2.82.7 *ab*	
141.9 *ab*	2.82.7 *cd*	
141.9 *cd*	2.82.8 *ab*	
141.10 *ab*	2.82.8 *cd*	
141.10 *cd*	2.82.9 *ab*	
141.11 *ab/cd*	2.82.11 *ab/cd*	12.138.61 *ab/cd*

In SSSN. the MBh verse (MBh (Bh) 12.101.10) was wrongly divided by SSSN. 2.82.10, 7, 8 and 9 *ab* into two parts.

2.6.4. Better was the division of SSSN. 2.66.10 to 14 and 42.1 to 2 (=SRHt. 85.11 to 14½ and 197.2 to 3½); the division is there as follows:

SRHt. 85	SSSN. 2.66	MBh (Bh)
85.11 *ab/cd*	2.66.10 *ab/cd*	5.33.44 *ab/cd*
missing	2.66.11 *ab*	
85.12 *ab*	2.66.11 *cd*	
85.12 *cd*	2.66.12 *ab*	5.38.18 *ab*
85.13 *ab*	2.66.12 *cd*	5.38.18 *cd*
85.13 *cd*	2.66.13 *ab*	
85.14 *ab*	2.66.13 *cd*	
85.14 *cd*	2.66.14 *ab*	
85.14½	2.66.14 *cd*	

and:

SRHt. 197	SSSN. 4.2
197.2 *cd*	4.2.1 *ab*
197.3 *ab*	4.2.1 *cd*
197.3 *cd*	4.2.2. *ab*
197.3½	4.2.2 *cd.*

2.6.5. In three places SSSN. changes the order of the *pāda-s* in the *subhāṣita-s* of SRHt. (i.e. SRHt. 124.14=SSSN. 2.129.2 *cd/ab;* SRHt. 168.10=SSSN. 2.121.8 *cd/ab;* and SRHt. 181.14=SSSN. 2.137.14 *cd/ab*).

3. SSSN., when omitting some *subhāṣita-s* from the text used in SRHt., had, no doubt, the primary source, i.e. the original of the *subhāṣita-s* not before his eyes and probably did not even know the original source. In this connexion it is worth noting that some Kauṭilya's quotations were omitted e.g. K (K) 1.10.18; 9.4, 26; 12.1.32; 14.3.88; and 2.12.37 (from SSSN. 2.35.15 to 20 and 42-43; and 2.98.4 to 5=SRHt. 156.17, 23, 50, 51 and 90.5). Was this due to the intentional oblivion of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*?[10]

10. Cf. JAOS 88. 3; p. 496.

4.1. Annex I (Comparison of the *paddhati-s* in SRHt. and SSSN.) shows the close similarity, or rather sameness, of the titles and topics of the *paddhati-s* in both anthologies with short remarks as to the identity or similarity of their contents.

4.2. Annex II (Comparison of the *subhāṣita-s* contained in SSSN. and SRHt.) is a verse by verse comparison of the *subhāṣita-s* of both anthologies; it shows the manner in which the two anthologies included the same *subhāṣita-s* in the appropriate *paddhati-s.* Verses marked with an asterisk (*) denote *subhāṣita-s* written in *Prākṛt.*

4.3. It seems that these two annexes will dispel any doubts as to the identity of SSSN. and SRHt.

5. SRHt. is more complete and superior to SSSN., since it ascribes most of its verses to primary sources. Although the names of the sources from which the extracts are given are sometimes not correct, —an occurrence very often noticed in Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s,* —the ascriptions are in general correct. This shows that the compiler of SRHt. in most cases either extracted *subhāṣita-s* directly from the primary sources, or knew the primary sources by heart and quoted them knowing, or thinking of knowing, their origin. That was not the case with the compiler of SSSN. who either recopied a text of SRHt. (which did not contain the names of the sources from which the extracts were made), or purposely omitted the source-material. That seems to show that SRHt. (but not the printed text of SRHt.) is original and SSSN. a copy of SRHt. with various additions and omissions. However that is only a hypothesis and no real proof can be adduced for this assumption.

II. *Source-material of Sāyaṇa's Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi*

6. Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy in his Preface to SSSN. stated: "Unlike other anthologies, neither Sāyaṇa, nor his anonymous Saṅgrahakāra has bothered to indicate the names of the sources from which the verses have been taken. In the nature of things this editor has to content himself with tracing only a few of them to

their sources (*sic*!)[11] (p. III). Later, in the Introduction he wrote: "If we compare this collection with those of Śārṅgadhara, Vallabhadeva, Śrīdharadāsa, etc. we will notice that the material included here is mostly new (*sic*!) and not more than a dozen out of a hundred can be found in any other collection (*sic*!)." (p. 16). The statement of the editor is wrong. Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy knew that SSSN. is similar to SRHt. (see para 1 above) and when marking sometimes in the footnotes the original sources of the *subhāṣita-s* quoted in SSSN. indiscriminately used the ascriptions from SRHt., although he did not admit it.

7. Ludo Rocher, Professor at the University of Pennsylvania, when reviewing SSSN. (in JAOS 90.2; p. 410) wrote: "....few indications are limited to very general indications such as 'Mahābhārata', 'Rāmāyaṇa', 'Kālidāsa', etc.[11] which are not terribly helpful. It is surprising that the editor has abstained even from comparing with Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche* and Sternbach's useful *Supplement to O. Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche* (not to mention many other excellent contributions by Dr. Sternbach in this field). A sample of 150 consecutive *Sprüche* and the corresponding section of the *Supplement* allowed us to identify 10 stanzas of the Sudhānidhi; assuming that the ratio remains unchanged throughout, the *Sprüche* contain about 500 stanzas of the *Sudhānidhi*, i.e. more than one fifth of the entire text."

8. L. Rocher was completely correct in his assumption that a great part of SSSN.'s *subhāṣia-s* (and not as K. Krishnamoorthy wrote "not more than a dozen of a hundred can be found in any other collection") can be identified and their source found; he did not even realize the extent to which the *subhāṣita-s* of SSSN. can be identified.

8.1. This author has tried his hand to identify only those *subhāṣita-s* which begin with the letter अ. Here are the results of his investigation.

8.2. There are in SSSN. 283 *subhāṣita-s* beginning with the letter अ, of which it was possible to identify 234 *subhāṣita-s*, or nearly 90 per cent; of these 238 *subhāṣita-s*—199 (or over 90 per cent) are also quoted in SRHt.

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11. These indications were recopied by the editor from SRHt. (see above para. 6).

8.3. Annex III shows clearly which *subhāṣita-s* of SSSN. beginning with the letter अ are found in primary and secondary sources. In the first column (marked SSSN.) the *pratīka* of the SSSN. *subhāṣita* is quoted with an indication where it occurs (page and verse) and whether it is ascribed to any source or not by the editor of SSSN. In the second column the primary source (s) from which the SSSN. *subhāṣita* was taken is given and in the third column the secondary source (s) in which the SSSN. *subhāṣita* also occurs are given. In the last column ascriptions in the secondary source (s) are quoted and remarks as to the SSSN. text.

9. The primary sources from which the SSSN.'s *subhāṣita-s* were taken are primarily the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, so-called Cāṇakya's collections of aphorisms, the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitopadeśa*, *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, *Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya*, the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, the *Vikramacarita*, Bhartṛhari's *Śataka-s*, *Mānasollāsa*, the *Amaruśataka*, the *Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā*, the *Śiśupālavadha*, the *Bhojaprabandha*, the *Mudrārākṣasa*, even *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* and many others.

9.1. In most cases, the readings of the *subhāṣita-s* are identical with those of SRHt. and, what is most revealing, follow the text of the SRHt., rather than the text of the primary source; that is a major argument for the assumption that SSSN. is indebted more to SRHt. than to the original sources and is not an original work; that is, for instance, the case of *subhāṣita-s* Nos. 4, 23, 57, 84, 85, 88, 91, 117, 118, 125, 127, (130), 132, 133, 138, 139, 142, 148; 167; 182, 188, 193, (195), 202, 205, 208, 210, 212, 217, 232 and 233. The readings of these *subhāṣita-s* are identical with the readings of SRHt., while the primary sources have different readings.

9.2. On the other hand, SSSN. contains sometimes new readings (*subāṣita-s* Nos. 2, 24, 34, 44, 59, 111, 114, 124, 126, 128, 131; 140, 141, 192, 223, 231 and 234) and fills in lacunae of SRHt. (*subhāṣita-s* Nos. 104 and 119).

9.3. As mentioned before, the editor of SSSN. follows almost without exception the ascriptions of *subhāṣita-s* given in SRHt.;[12] therefore he ascribes some verses to not often-quoted authors, such as Vallabhadeva (Nos. 8, 15, 48, 141,[13] 189), Śṛṅgāraprakāśa

12. See paras. 6 and 7.

13. This verse was ascribed only in SSSN to Vallabhadeva.

(No. 27), Ravigupta (No. 207), Sakalavidyādhara (No. 38), Sundarapāṇḍya, the author of the *Nītidviṣaṣṭika* (Nos. 83, 103), Pratāpacakravartī (No. 65), Pratāparudra (No. 113),[14] Kavivallabha (No. 192) and to Daṇḍanīti (No. 70).

9.4. Most often, following SRHt., the compiler of SSSN. ascribed *subhāṣita-s* to the *Mahābhārata* (Nos. 33, 52, 64, 96, 102, 110, 113, 126, 154, 162, 167, 169, 174, as well as to *subhāṣita-s* which were not found in the *Mahābhārata*: Nos. 85 (from K.), 172, 214 and 234 (from R.); Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*: Nos. 26, 36, 78, 107, 132, 134, 135, 146,[15] 215, 218;[16] *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*: Nos. 13, 75, 117, 125, 191,[17] 288, as well as No. 92 which was not found in Kir; the *Pañcatantra*: Nos. 130 and 225, as well as 140, 195 and 200 which were not found in P.; the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra*: Nos. 39,[18] 54, 89, 201,[19] as well as Nos. 91, 116 and 161 which were not found in Mn; the Bhallaṭa (śataka): Nos. 50, 93, 153, as well as No. 63 which was not found in the *Bhallaṭaśataka*; *Kālidāsa*: Nos. 41 and 164;[20] the *Kalāvilāsa*: Nos. 43, 103, as well as Nos. 197 and 217;[21] the *Hitopadeśa*: No. 109,[22] the *Rāmāyaṇa*: No. 170, as well as No. 68 which occurs only in Mn. and MBh.; Māgha: No. 6; Mammaṭa: No. 77; Bāṇa No. 22; the *Mudrārākṣasa*: No. 125; the *Prabodhacandrodaya* No. 94; and Bhartṛhari: Nos. 19, 160, but none of them appears in BhŚ. An original and correct ascription of the editor of SSSN. was of No. 25 (*Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*).

9.5. On the other hand, SRHt. ascribes additionally a number of *subhāṣita-s* to different authors, but the editor of SSSN. did not even bother to ascribe them also to these authors. They are (numbers in italics denote that the *subhāṣita* could not be traced

14. In SRHt. this verse is ascribed to Kāmandaki. but the next verse is ascribed to Prataparudra. The editod of SSN. probably by error moved the ascription one verse up.

15. Only in SSSN.. SSB. and ṢuMuñ.

16. In SSSN. a. SR; in SRHt. a. Bhāsa.

17. In SRHt. a. Kīrata.

18. In SRHt. a. MBh.

19. In SRHt. a. MBh; only *a* in Mn.

20. *Mālavikāgnimitra*; in SRHt. a. *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*.

21. In SRHt. No. 197 is a. Kalāvidya and No. 217 is a. Bhoja.

22. In SRHt. a. P; occurs also in P.

in the work ascribed in SRHt.) : the *Mahābhārata* Nos. 1, 2, *4*, *10*, 14, *35* (KN), 42, *67*, *69*, 79, *83*, *87*, *98*, *101*, 105, *112*, 128, 136, 142, 144, 156, 158, 168, 171, 173, *177*, *178*, *181*, *182*, 185, 187, 194, *196*, 198, 204, *209*, 211, 212, *214*, *219*, 222 and 230); Vyāsa or *Vyāsaśataka* Nos. 28 (=MBh), 33 (=H), 46 (=C), 57, 205, 208 (=C), 210 (=C) and 227; the *Pañcatantra* Nos. *106*, 139, *140*, *149*, and *200*; the *Rāmāyaṇa* Nos. 45, *145* (=MBh), *155* (=MBh) and 157; the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* Nos. *114*, 188, *209* (=MBh); *Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra* Nos. *72* (=MBh), 75, 175 *186* (=*MBh*); the *Mānasollāsa* Nos. 20, 53, *97*, 199; *Sundarapāṇḍya* Nos. *90*, *155*, *129*, *190*; Vallabhadeva Nos. *74*, *221* (=MBh), *233*; the *Bṛhatkathā* (*mañjarī*) Nos. *122*, 138, *206*; Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* Nos. 23, 111 (=KN); the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* Nos. *100*, *118* (=KāD); Kālidāsa No. 17; Bhāravi No. 29; Viracita No. 44; Suvarṇadeśa No. 59; Rājaga (?) No. 30 and Rāja (?) No. 193; Bhoja No. 217; Murāri No. 162; *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* No. 184; *Viṣṇugupta* No. 213; *Sarasvatī-khaṇṭhābharaṇa* No. 147; Uddata No. *152*; Daṇḍin No. 176; Ruyyaka No. 179; Rudra No. 127; and Itihāsa No. 159 (=P., H. BhŚ and VCs1).

9.6. Annex III gives a clear picture of the findings of this author as to the source-material of the *subhāṣita* found in SSSN. beginning with the letter only.[23]

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23. Cf. para. 8.3.

ABBREVIATIONS

a.	Attributed to
AA.	*Alaṅkārasāṅgraha* of Amṛtānandayogin. Veṅkateśvara Or. Ser. 19 *and* Adyar Library Series No. 70.
AAS.	*Anyoktyaṣṭaka-Saṁgraha*. Bhāratiya Vidyā Series No. 11.
AB.	Th. Aufrecht, Beitrage zur Kenntniss indischer Dichter, ZDMG 36. 361–383 and 509–559.
ABORI.	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
AKM.	*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
Almm.	*Alaṅkṛti-maṇi-mālā.* Ed. by G.V. Devasthali, Bombay, 1948.
AlR.	*Alaṁkāra-ratnākara* of Śobhākaramitra. POS. 77.
Amar.	*Amaruśataka* (Amar (S) ed. by R. Simon, Kiel 1893).
Amd.	*Alaṁkāramahodadhi* of Narendraprabha Sūri. GOS. 95.
a.n.	ascription not given.
Anar.	*Anargharāghava* of Murāri. KM 5.
Any.	*Anyoktimuktāvalī* of Haṁsavijayagaṁsa. KM. 88.
AR.	*Alaṁkārasarvasva* of Rājānaka Ruyyaka. KM. 35.
Bahud.	*Bahudarśana,* as quoted in IS.
BhG.	*Bhagavad Gītā* (see MBh).
BhPr.	*Bhojaprabandha* of Ballāladeva, NSP. 1932.
BhŚ	*Śatakatrayādi-subhāṣitasaṁgraha* of Bhartṛhari. Ed. by D. D. Kosambi. SJS. 23.
BI.	*Bibliotheca Indica.*
BORI.	*Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* Poona.
BrDh.	*Brāhmadharma* in Pratna Kamranandinī, Benares.

Can.	*Candrāloka* of Jayadeva, ChSS. 458-9.
Caur.	*Caurapañcāśikā* of Bilhaṇa. Caur (A) in JA of 1848; Caur (KM) in KM. XIII; pp. 145—169; Caur (POS) in POS 86.
ChSS.	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.
Cr.	*Cāṇakya-Nīti Text Tradition* Ed. by L. Sternbach, Vishveshvaranad Indological Series 27—9.
DhN (P).	*The Dhammanīti* (Pālī). In PMB.
Dhv.	*Dhvaryāloka* of Ānandavardhana in HSS 66 and KM 25.
Dvi.	*Nīti-dviṣaṣṭika* of Sundarapāṇḍya. Ed. by K. Mārkaṇḍya. Śarma 1928; *also*. Journal of the Gaṅganatha Jha Research Institute XXV. 333—365.
GOS.	Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.
GP.	*Garuḍa-purāṇa*. Ed. by J. Vidyāsagara, Calcutta 1890.
GSL.	*Gems from Sanskrit Literature,* Sanskrit Academy Series 5. Osmania University, Hyderabad 1959.
Han.	*Hanumannāṭaka*. HSS 271.
H (HJ)	*Hitopadeśa* ed. and transl. by F. Johnston. *Also*: American Oriental Series, No. 44.
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series, Cambridge, Mass.
HSS.	Haridas Sanskrit Series, Benares.
IS.	O. Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprūche*. St. Petersburg 1870—3; also *Bull. de l' Académie des Sciences de St. Petersburg* XXI 93—132, 200—242, 370—409; and XXIII 401—132. Cf. *also*: Abhandlungen *für* die Kunde des Morgenlandes 38.1.
JA.	*Journal Asiatique* (Paris).
JS.	The *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Gh. Jalhaṇa GOS. 82.
JSu.	*Subhāṣitāvalī*. MS. BORI 1424 of 1887-91, as quoted in BhŚ.

JSub.	*Jain Anthology*, MS BORI 1495 of 1887–9, as quoted in BhŚ.
K.	Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra;* K (K) published by R. P. Kangle, University of Bombay Studies No. 1.
KāD.	*Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin. BORI 1938.
Kal.	*Kṣemendra's Kalāvilāsa.* KM I; pp. 34–79.
KāP.	The *Kāvyapradīpa* of Mm. Govind. KM 24.
Kav.	*Kavīndravacanasamuccaya.* B.I. 1309 (See SkV).
Kāvyāṇ.	*Kāvyānuśāsana* of Vāgbhaṭa. KM 43.
KH.	*Kāvyanuśāsana* of Hemacandra KM. 71.
Kir.	*Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi. NSP 1954.
KM.	Kāvyamālā Series. NSP.
KN.	*Kāmandakīya Nītisāra.* KN (BI) ed. in B.I. 1896; KN (ĀnSS) in Ānandāśrama Sanshrit Series No. 136.
Kpr.	*Kāvyāprakāśa* of Mammaṭa. BORI 1950.
Kṛṣṇc.	*Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka. Madras 1958.
KSS.	*Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadevabhaṭṭa NSP 1930.
KSSKP.	See SSKR.
Kuv.	*Kuvalayānanda* of Appayya Dīkṣita. NSP 1947. *Also* ChSS. 1956.
LN (P.).	The Lokanīti (Pāli) in PMB.
Māl.	*Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa. Poona 1950.
MBh.	The *Mahābhārata.* MBh (Bh) ed. BORI; MBh (Ju). Old Javanese MBh. Ed. by Juynboll. Udyogaparvan (MBh (Bh)).
Mn.	*Mānava-dharmaśāstra.* Ed. by J. Jolly. London, 1887. *Also* in BI. 256 (MnJh).
Mudr.	*Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta. The Royal Book Stall. Poona.
NBh.	*Narābharaṇa* in *Malayamārutaḥ* I. Tirupati 1966. pp 47–83.

NKy (B).	Nīti-*Kyan* (Burmese). *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* 17.52.
NŚ (OS).	*Nītiśāstra* (Old Javanese). Bibliotheca Javanica 4. Bandoeng 1933.
NSP.	Nirṇaya Sāgara Press. Bombay.
NT.	Nītiśāstra in Telugu, as quoted in IS.
NV.	*Nītivākyāmṛta* of Somadevasūrī. Digambara Jaina Granthamālā 22.
P.	*Pañcatantra* (See PD. PM, PN, PP, PRE, PS, PT, PTem, Pts, PtsK, Ptu, PX).
Pad.	*Padyaracanā* of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Āṅkolakara. KM 89.
PD.	P. of Durgasiṁhā. Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik 6.255.
PG.	The *Padāyvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin. Dacca Univ. Or. Publ. Series 3.
PM.	P. *Meghavijaya*. ZDMG 67.639.
PMB.	J. Gray. *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources*. London 1886.
PN.	P. Nepāli Text, as quoted in PS LXXXIX and 100–26; PT I. 117–35 and PRE 2. 192–258.
POS.	Poona Oriental Series.
PP.	P. Pañcākhyānaka of Purṇabhadra. HOS 11–2.
Pr.	Durga Prāsad's *Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 16 (1885) 361–377.
Prab.	*Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣnamiśra. NSP 1935.
Pras.	*Prasaṅgābharaṇa* of Śrīmatkulatilaka, Bombay (no date).
Prasanna.	*Prasannasāhityaratnākara* of Nandana, as quoted in SkV.
PrC.	*Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga SJS.I.

PRE.	P. Reconstructed by F. Edgerton. American Oriental Series 2-3.
PRK.	*Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekarasūri. SJS. 6.
PS.	P. Southern ; in *Abhandlungen der phil. hist. Klasse der Kön. Sachs. Ges. d. Wriss.* XXIV 5. Leipzig. 1906.
PSDh.	*Parāśaradharmasaṁhitā.* Bombay Sanskrit Series 47, 48, 59, 64, 67, 74.
PT. (PTem).	P. Tantrākhyāyika HOS, 1915 (PT) : *Abh. d. phil-hist. Klasse der Kön. Sache. Ges. der Wiss.* V. Leipzig 1904.
Pts. (PtsK).	P. Textus simplicior. Bombay Sanskrit Series 1, 3, 4 (Pts) ; ed. by I. G. L. Kosegarten. Bonnae 1848 (PtsK).
PTu.	P. *Tantropākhyāna.* Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 132.
PuPra.	*Purātana-prabandha-saṁgraha.* Ed. by J. Muni. SJS. 2.
PV.	The *Padyaveṇī* of Veṇīdatta. Ed. by J. B. Chaudhuri. Calcutta 1944.
PX.	P. J. Hertel, Über einen Südlichen textu amplior des P. *ZDMG* 60. 769—81 and 61. 18—72.
R.	*Rāmāyaṇa.* R (B) Bombay ed. R (Bar) Baroda Critical edition, R (G) G. Gerrosio's edition 1843—50. R (R) M. L. J. Press ed. Madras 1958.
Rav (T).	Ravigupta's *Āryākośa* (Tibetan) in the Tanjur.
RJ.	The *Rasikajīvana* of Gadādhara. Calcutta 1944.
Sa.	*Subhāṣitārṇava.* MS BORI 1486 of 1886—92: 1156 of 1884—8 ; 1695 of 1875 as quoted in BhS.
Sāh.	*Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha Kavirāja. B I. 9.
Sama	*Samayocitapadyaratnamālikā,* HSS 165; *also* Bombay 1957.
Sar.	*Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhojadeva. KM 94.
Saśā.	*Sadācāra-śāstra,* Viśveśvaranand Institute Publications. 246, Hoshiarpur.

ŚB.	*Budhabhūṣaṇa* of King Śambhu. BORI 1926.
SGo.	*Subhāṣitāvalī* of Gopinātha. MS. BORI 820 of 1886—92, as quoted in BhS.
SH.	*Subhāṣitahārāvalī* of Harikavi. MS. BORI 92 of 1883-84.
ShD (T).	*She-rab Dong-bu* (Tibetan). Ed. by W. L. Campbell, Calcutta 1919.
Śiś.	*Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha. NSP. Bombay 1940.
SJS.	Siṅghī Jain Series. Bombay.
SK.	*Subhāṣitaratnakośa of Bhaṭṭaśrīkṛṣṇa*. MS. BORI. 93 of 1883-84, as quoted in Books.
ŚKDr.	*Śabdakalpadruma* I.—IV. ChSS. 93.
SKG.	*Subhāṣitakhaṇḍa* of Gaṇeśabhaṭṭa as quoted in BhŚ.
Skm.	*Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa. Ed. by S. C. Banerji. Calcutta, 1965 (Skm (B)) and in Punjab Oriental Series, 15, Lahore 1933 (Skm (POS)).
SkV.	*Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* of Vidyākara. HOS. 42.
SL.	*Subhāṣitaśloka*. MS. BORI 324 of 1881—2, as quoted in BhŚ.
SLP.	*Śṛṅgārollāpa*. MS. BORI 92 of 1883—84, as quoted in BhŚ.
SLPr.	*Sāṁskṛta-lokokti-prayoga*. Śaktiprakāśana.
SMa.	*Subhāṣita-mañjarī*, Kumbhakonam 1921.
SN (P).	*Suttavaḍḍhananīti* (Pālī) in PMB.
ŚP.	*Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara*. Ed. by P. Peterson. Bombay Sanskrit Series, 37.
SR.	*Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāram*. 8th ed. NSP. 1952.
SRHt.	*Sūktiratnahāra* of Sūrya. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 141.
SRK.	*Subhāṣitaratnākara*. Ed. by K.Ś. Bhāṭavaḍekar, Bombay 1872.

SRRU.	*Saṁskṛta Sūktiratnākara.* Ed. by R. Upādhyāya. 1959.
SRS.	*Subhāṣitaratnasamuccayaḥ.* 5th ed. Ahmedabad 1922.
SSap.	*Subhāṣita-saptaśatī.* Ed. by M. Śāstri. Delhi 1960.
SSB.	*Subhāṣitasudhāratnabhāṇḍāgāra.* Śrī Veṅkateśvara Press, Saṁvat 1985.
SSD.	*Subhāṣitasuradruma.* MS. BORI 228 of later additions, as quoted in BhŚ.
SSg.	*Subhāṣitasaṁgraha* with Gujarati translation. Bombay 1885.
SSH.	*Sūktiśataka* I.–II. Ed. by H. Jhā. HSS 263.
SSKR.	*Sūktisaṁgraha* of Kavi Rākṣasa. HSS 134 ; ed. in 1930 (KSSKP).
SS (OJ).	*Sārasamuccaya.* Ed. by Ragu Vīra. Śata-piṭaka Series 24, New Delhi. (Old Javanese)
SSpr.	*Sūktisudhā,* Ed. by R. Ś. Pālīvala. Svādhyāya-Saṁdala Pāravaḍī 1963.
SSSN.	Sāyaṇa's *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi,* Ed. by K. Krishnamoorthy, Dharwar 1968.
SSV.	*Sārasūktāvalī* by Śrī Municandragaṇī, MS. BORI 1492 of 1886–92, as quoted in BhŚ.
ST.	*Subhātaraṅga* of Jagannātha Miśra. MS BORI 416 of 1884–87, as quoted in BhŚ.
Śto, Śts.	*Śukasaptati, textus simplicior* (Śts) in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 10.1; *Textus ornatior* (Śto) in *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie* 21.2 1898-9.
SU.	*Subhāṣita.* MS BORI 527 of 1887–91, as quoted in BhŚ.
SuB.	*Śrīsūktāvalī.* Codice indiano ed. dal dre E. Bartoli. Napoli 1911.
Subh.	*Subhāṣitārṇava,* MS. as quoted in IS.

SuMuñ.	*Sūkti-mañjarī.* Ed. by B. Upādhyāya. Vidyā Bhavana-Saṁskṛta-granthamālā 142. ChSS.
TK (OJ).	*Tantri-Kāmandaka.* (Old Javanese). Bibliotheca Javanica 2.
TP.	Carr's. *A Collection of Telugu Proverbs*, as quoted in IS.
VC.	*Vikramacarita.* Ed. by F. Edgerton. HOS 26-7. (Southern recension VCsr. metrical recension VCmr; brief recension VCbr; Jainistic recension: VCjr.).
Vet.	*Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā.* Ed. by H. Uhle. *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 8.1.
Vidy.	*Vidyākarasahasraka.* Allahabad Univ. Publications, Skt. Series 2. Allahabad 1942.
Vik.	Vikramorvaśīyam by Kālidāsa. BSS. 16.
VīrR.	*Vīramitrodaya* of Mitra Miśra, Rājanīti. ChSS 30.
VP.	*Padyataraṅginī* of Vrajanatha, ed. by N. R. Gore. Poona Orientalist 11. 46—56.
VS.	*Subhhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva. Bombay Sanskrit Series 31.
Vyās.	*Vyāsasubhāṣitasaṁgraha.* Ed. by L. Sternbach. Kāśī Skt. Series 193. ChSS. Vyāsakāraya, Ceylonese (Vyāsl (C), Vyākāraśataka Siamese (Vyās (S). Cf. L. Sternbach in Dr. E. Sluszkiewicz Commemoration Volume, Rocznik Orientalistyczny.
VyVi.	*Vyaktiviveka.* Kāśi-Skt. Series 121.
ZDMG.	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

ANNEX I. COMPARISON OF THE *PADDHATI-S* IN SRHt. AND SSSN.

१. धर्म पर्व

	पद्धति	A: SRHt	B: SSSN	Remarks
A. B.	प्ररोचनाप०	1	1.2	
A. B.	नमस्कारप०	2	1.3	
A. B.	आशीः प०	3	1.4	SSSN much longer
A.	वेदप्रशंसाप०	4	—	
B.	—			
A.	ब्राह्मणप्रशंसाप०	5	1.5	
B.	विप्रप्रशंसाप०			
A.	सृष्टिक्रमप०	6	—	
B.	—			
A.	धर्मप०	7	1.7	SRHt much longer
B.	हितोपदेशप०			
A.	धर्मप्रशंसाप०	8	1.10	SRHt much longer
B.	धर्मप०			
A.	अधर्मप्रशंसाप०	9	1.11	SRHt much longer
B.	अधर्मप०			
A.	सत्यप्रशंसाप०	10	1.12	SRHt much longer
B.	सत्यप०			
A. B.	असत्यप०	11	1.13	
A. B.	दम्भप०	12	1.30	
A.	दानप्रशंसाप०	13	1.14	
B.	दानप०			
A.	अन्नप्रशंसाप०	14	—	
B.	—			
A.	जलदानप्रशंसाप०	15	—	
B.	—			
A.	भूमिदानप०	16	—	
B.	—			
A.	तिलदानप०	17	—	
B.	—			

पद्धति	A: SRHt	B: SSSN	Remarks
A. विद्यादानप० B. —	18	—	
A. सुवर्णदानम् B. —	19	—	
A. तपःप्रशंसाप० B. तपःप०	20	1.16	SRHt longer
A. B. अहिंसाप०	21	1.17	
A. B. दयाप०	22	1.19	
A. B. आचारप०	23	1.8	
A. B. अनाचारप०	24	1.9	
A. गृहस्थप० B. गृहस्थधर्मप०	25	1.22	SRHt longer
A. B. साध्वीप०	26	1.24	SRHt much longer
A. पतिप्रशंसाप० B. पतिप०	27	1.23	
A. श्रुतप्रशंसाप० B. विद्वत्प०	28	1.25	
A. अज्ञप्रशंसाप० B. अज्ञप०	29	1.26	SRHt much longer
A. B. काव्यप्रशंसाप०	30	2.52	
A. सुजनप० B. सुजनप०	31	1.27	SRHt contains many Prākṛit verses
A. B. दुर्जनप०	32	1.28	SRHt much longer many new verses in A and B
A. युगप्रशंसाप० B. कलिप०	33	1.29	SRHt much longer
A. B. कर्मप्रशंसाप०	34	1.31	Almost identical
A. B. विधिप्रशंसाप०	35	1.32	Almost identical
A. दुर्विधिप्रशंसाप० B. दुर्विधिप०	36	1.33	Almost identical
A. मृत्युप्रशंसाप० B. मृत्युप०	37	1.34	

२. अर्थ पर्व

पद्धति	A: SRHt	B: SSSN	Remarks
A. B. राजलक्षण०	38	2.2	Identical
A. B. राजप्रशंसा०	39	2.3	
A. B. असद्राज०	40	2.4	
A. B. अराजक०	41	2.5	Identical
A. B. राजविद्या०	42	2.6	Identical
A. B. जितेन्द्रिय०	43	2.9	Almost identical
A. B. अजितेन्द्रिय०	44	2.10	Almost identical
A. B. विनय०	45	2.11	Almost identical
A. B. अविनय०	46	2.12	Almost identical
A. B. कामजय०	47	2.16	SRHt longer
A. मृगयादोष० B. मृगयानिन्दा०	48	2.23	Almost identical
A. B. मृगयागुण०	49	2.22	Identical
A. द्यूतदोष० B. द्यूत०	50	2.21	Almost, identical; SSSN has 2 additional verses.
A. B. दिवास्वप्ननिन्दा०	51	2.33	identical
A. परिवाददोष० B. परिवाद०	52	2.34	Almost Identical
A. स्त्रींव्यसन and स्त्रीनिन्दा B. स्त्रीनिन्दा	53 54	2.20	All but one verse of SSSN occurs in SRHt 53-54
A. B. पानदोष०	55	2.24	Identical
A. तौर्यत्रिक० B. —	56	—	
A. वृथाटाट्या B. —	57	.—	

	पद्धति	A: SRHt	B: SSSN	Remarks
A. B.	क्रोधप्रशंसा०	58	2.17	Identical
A. B.	क्रोधनिन्दा०	59	2.18	SSSN upto verse 15 identical. Than SSSN adds 8 verses
A. B.	पैशुन्य०	60	2.93	
A. B.	साहसदोष० } साहस०	61	2.30	
A. B.	द्रोह० —	62	—	
A. B.	ईर्ष्या० —	63	—	
A. B.	असूया०	64	2.29	Identical
A. B.	अर्थदूषण०	65	2.27	Identical
A, B.	वाक्पारुष्य०	66	2.25	Identical
A. B.	दण्डपारुष्य०	67	2.26	Almost identical
A. B.	लोभ०	68	2.19	Almost identical
A. B.	मान०	69	2.31	Identical
A. B.	हर्ष०	70	2.28	Identical
A. B.	प्रमाद०	71	2.32	Almost identical
A. B.	आज्ञा०	72	2.7	Almost identical
A. B.	दण्ड० —	73	—	
A. B.	पुत्र० + वृद्धसेव०	74	2.54 & 2.8	SRHt longer; includes SSSN 2.8 (वृद्धसेव०)
A. B.	दुष्पुत्र० } असत्पुत्र०	75	2.55	Identical
A. B.	भ्रातृ०	76	2.56	SSSN includes some verses of SRHt 105 (seebelow). Most of the verses of SRHt do not occur in SSSN.
A. B.	असद्भ्रातृ०	77	2.57	SRHt longer

पद्धति	A: SRHt	B: SSSN	Remarks
A. उत्साहशक्ति॰ B. उत्साह॰	78	2.13	
A. B. प्रभुशक्ति॰	79	2.14	Identical
A. मन्त्रशक्ति॰ B. मन्त्र॰	80	2.15	Identical
A. B. पुरोहित॰	81	2.45	Identical
A. B. मन्त्रि॰	82	2.63	All verses of SSSN 2. 63 occur in SRHt 82. SRHt somewhat longer.
A. दुर्मन्त्रि॰ B. दुष्टमन्त्रि॰	83	2.64	Identical
A. B. बुद्धिप्रशंसा॰	84	2.65	Identical
A. मन्त्र॰ B. मन्त्रप्रशंसा॰	85	2.66	Almost identical
A. मन्त्रकाल॰ मन्त्रदेश॰ B, मन्त्रदेश॰ मन्त्रकाल	86-7	2.67-8	Identical
A. B. मित्र॰	88	2.96	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 88.
A. असन्मित्र॰ B. अमित्र॰	89	2.97	Almost identical SRHt adds several verses in Prākirt
A. कोश॰ B. कोशसंग्रह॰	90	2.98	Almost identical
A. कोशहानिशेष॰ B. कोशहानि॰	91	2.99	Identical
A. राष्ट्रगुण॰ B. राष्ट्रप्रशंसा॰	92	2.102	Almost identical
A. B. दुर्ग॰	93	2.103	Identical
A. सेनापति॰ B. ,, दुष्टसेना	94	2.104-5	Identical
A. बल॰ B. —	95	—	
A. गजप्रशंसा॰ B. गज॰	96	2.108	Identical
A. तुरगप्रशंसा॰ B. अश्व॰	97	2.109	Identical. SSSN adds two verses.
A. B. पदाति॰	98	2.110	Identical

पद्धति	A: SRHt	B: SSSN	Remarks
A. B. वीर०	99	2.111	All but 4 last verses of SSSN occur also in SRHt 99. SRHt longer. Almost, identical
A. B. भीरु०	100	2.116	SRHt longer
A. धैर्य० B. धीर०	101	2.115	Identical
A. मान० B. मानि०	102	2.117	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 102.
A. B. मानहीन०	103	2.118	Almost identical
A. B. अन्तरङ्गनिन्दा०	104	2.53	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 104
A. B. सद्भृत्य०	105	2.58	See note on SRHt 76
A. B. असद्भृत्य०	106	2.59	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 106
A. B. विश्वास०	107	2.60	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 107
A. B. अविश्वास०	108	2.61	All verses of SSSN occur in SRH. 108
A. वैद्यप्रशंसा० B. वैद्य०	109	2.48	Identical
A. B. असद्वैद्य०	110	2.49	Identical
A. B. कविप्रशंसा०	111	2.50	Identical. SSSN adds at the end 5 verses.
A. कुकवि० B. कुकविनिन्दा०	112	2.51	Almost identical
A. B. वेश्याप्रशंसा०	113	3.2	Identical SSSN adds at the end 3 verses.
A. B. वेश्यानिन्दा०	114	3.3	Almost identical. SRHt longer.
A. B. कायस्थनिन्दा०	115	2.90	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 115
A. B. राजलेखक०	116	2.89	Identical
A. B. सारथि०	117	2.107	Identical
A. सन्धिविग्रहिक० B. —	118	—	

पद्धति	A: SRHt	B: SSSN	Redmarks
A. सूदाध्यक्ष० B. सूदनायक	119	2.62	Identical
A. B. अधिकारि०	120	2.94	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 120
A. दुष्टाधिकारि० B. दुष्टाधिकार०	121	2.95	Identical. SSSN adds at the end one verse
A. दौवारिक० B. द्वाःस्थ०	122	2.47	Identical
A. B. राजसेवा०	123	2.128	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 123. SSSN adds only one verse at the end
A. B. राजसेवानिन्दा०	124	2.129	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 124.
A. गायननिन्दा० B. गायकनिन्दा०	125	2.91	Identical. SSSN adds at the end one verse
A. B. स्वर्णकारनिन्दा०	126	2.92	Identical
A. उपाय० B. —	127	—	
A. B. साम०	128	2.69	Identical
A. B. भेद०	129	2.70	Almost identical
A. B. दान०	130	2.71	Identical
A. B. दण्ड०	131	2.72	Identical
A. B. सन्धि०	132	2.73	Identical
A. B. सन्धेय०	133	2.74	Identical
A. B. असन्धेय०	134	2.75	Identical
A. सन्धिदूषण० B. सन्धिनिन्दा०	135	2.76	Identical
A. B. वैर०	136	2.80	Identical
A. B. विग्रह०	137	2.81	Identical
A. B. दूत०	138	2.77	Identical. SSSN adds at the end one verse.

	पद्धति	A : SRHt	B : SSSN	Remarks
A. B.	दुष्टदूत०	139	2.78	Identical
A. B.	चार०	140	2.79	Identical
A. B.	यान०	141	2.82	Identical
A. B.	सुनिमित्त०	142	2.83	Identical
A. B.	अनिमित्त०	143	2.84	Identical
A. B.	आसन०	144	2.85	Identical. SSSN adds at the end one verse
A. B.	अभियुक्तप्रतिक्रिया० अभियुक्तक्रिया०	145	2.86	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 145
A. B.	परराष्ट्रदूषण० —	146	—	
A. B.	द्वैधीभाव०	147	2.87	Identical
A. B.	आश्रय० समाश्रय०	148	2.88	Identical
A. B.	युद्ध०	149	2.113	Identical. SRHt has 2 additional verses, one of them, in Prākṛt
A. B.	कूटयुद्ध०	150	2.114	Identical
A. B.	वीरपत्नीप्रलाप०	151	2.119	Almost, identical
A. B.	अभयप्रदान०	152	2.120	Identical
A. B.	राजचाटु०	153	2.44	SSSN much longer
A. B.	कीर्ति०	154	2.42	Almost, identical
A. B.	अकीर्ति०	155	2.43	Identical. SRHt adds 2 verses in Prākṛt.
A. B.	राजवृत्त०	156	2.35	
A. B.	करादान०	157	2.37	
A. B.	दिनचर्या०	158	2.36	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 158

	पद्धति	A. SRHt	B. SSSN	Remarks
A. B.	आत्मरक्षा०	159	2.38	Almost identical
A. B.	राज्यरक्षा०	160	2.39	Identical
A. B.	कण्टकशोधन०	161	2.40	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 161
A. B.	लोकरञ्जन०	162	2.41	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 162
A. B.	सामान्यनीति० सामान्य०	163	2.135	All verses of SSSN with the exception of two occur in SRHt 163. SRHt much longer.
A. B.	अर्थप्रशंसा०	164	2.100	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 164.
A. B.	अर्थनिन्दा०	165	2.101	Almost, identical
A. B.	लक्ष्मीप्रशंसा०	166	2.126	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 166
A. B.	लक्ष्मीविडम्बना० लक्ष्मीनिन्दा०	167	2.127	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 167. SRHt much longer.
A. B.	महत्०	168	2.121	All verses of SSSN with the exception of one verse occur in SRHt. SRHt much longer.
A. B.	लघु०	169	2.122	SRHt much longer.
A. B.	उदार०	170	2.124	
A. B.	कृपण०	171	2.125	
A. B.	कृतज्ञ०	172	2.123	Almost identical
A. B.	कृतघ्न० —	173	—	
A. B.	याञ्चानिन्दा० याञ्चा०	174	2.132	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt 174
A. B.	तृष्णानिन्दा० आशा० and तृष्णा०	175	2.131 2.131a	Almost identical
A. B.	दारिद्र्यनिन्दा०	176	2.130	Almost identical
A. B.	संसर्गगुण०	177	2.133	Almost identical

पद्धति	A: SRHt	B: SSSN	Remarks
A. B. संसर्गदोष॰	178	2.134	Almost identical
A. क्षमा॰ B. —	179	—	
A. शील॰ B. —	180	—	
A. B. संकीर्णम	181	2.137	All verses of SSSN but 4 occur in SRHt 181

३. काम पर्व

A. नायकप्रशंसा॰ B. —	182	—	
A. नायिकाप्रशंसा B. —	183	—	
A. B. वसन्त॰	184	3.7	Only one verse of SSSN occurs in SRHt
A. घर्म॰ B. ग्रीष्म॰ }	185	3.9	Only 3 verses of SSSN occur in SRHt
A. B. वर्ष॰	186	3.11	Only 5 verses of SSSN occur in SRHt. SSSN much loneger
A. B. शरत्॰	187	3.12	Only one verse of SSSN occurs in SRHt
A. B. हेमन्त	188	3.13	None of the verses are identical
A. अस्तमय॰ B.	189	3.24	Name of the verses are identical
A. सन्ध्या॰ B. —	190	—	
A. B. ॰॰	191	—	
A. B. चन्द्रोदय॰	192	3.26	None of the ve ses are identical
A. B. प्रभात॰	193	3.43	None o: the verses are identical
A. संभोगश्रृङ्गार॰ B. —	194	—	
A. विप्रलम्भश्रृङ्गार॰ B. —	195	—	

४. मोक्ष पर्व

पद्धति	A: SRHt	B: SSSN	Remarks
A. B. विषयनिन्दा०	196	4.1	All verses of SSSN but one occur, in SRHt. SRHt much longer.
A. अनित्य० B. अनित्यता०	197	4.2	All verses of SSSN occur in SRHt. SRHt much longer.
A. B. शोक०	198	4.3	
A. ज्ञान० B. ज्ञान० and तीर्थसेवा०	199	4.11 4.6	All verses of SSSN 11 and 6 but one occur in SRHt 199. SRHt longer
A. B. वैराग्य०	200	4.5	SRHt much longer
A. B. मोक्ष०	201	4.12	
A. B. स्तोत्र०	202	4.13	

ANNEX II. COMPARISON OF THE SUBHĀṢITA-S CONTAINED IN SSSN. AND SRHt.

I. Dharmaparva

SSSN	SRHt
1. Maṅgalā-caraṇa	
1—16	—
Upodghātapa°	
1.1.1—16	—
2. Prarocanāpa°	1
1.2.1	1.1.1
1.2.2	1.1.2
1.2.3	1.1.3
1.2.4	1.1.4
1.2.5	(1.30.1)
1.2.6	—
1.2.7	(1.30.5)
—	1.1.5
1.2.8	1.1.6
1.2.9	1.1.7
—	1.1.8
—	1.1.9
1.2.10	1.1.10
1.2.11	—
1.2.12	—
—	1.1.11

SSSN	SRHt
3. Namaskārapa°	2
1.3.1-5	—
1.3.6	1.2.1
1.3.7	—
1.3.8	1.2.2
1.3.9	—
1.3.10	1.2.4
1.3.11	1.2.5
1.3.12	1.2.6
1.3.13—17	—
1.3.18	1.2.9
1.3.19	1.2.3
1.3.20	1.2.7
1.3.21	—
1.3.22	1.2.12
1.3.23-4	—
1.3.25	1.2.13
1.3.26	1.2.15
1.3.27	1.2.14
—	1.2.8
—	1.2.10
—	1.2.11

SSSN	SRHt
—	1.2.16
—	1.2.17
4. Āṣīpa°	3
1.4.1—4	—
see 1.4.33-4	1.3.1-3
1.4.5	1.3.4
1.4.6-7	—
1.4.8	1.3.5
1.4.9—32	—
1.4.33	1.3.1
1.4.34	1.3.2
1.4.35-44	—
1.4.45	1.3.6
1.4.46—115	—
—	1.3.7
—Vedapraśaṁsā°	—
—	see SSSN 4
5. Vipra-praśaṁsāpa°	**5. Brāhmaṇapraśaṁsāpa°**
1.5.1	1.5.1
1.5.2	1.5.2
—	1.5.3

SSSN	SRHt
1.5.3	1.5.19
1.5.4	1.5.9
1.5.5	1.5.5
—	1.5.6-7
1.5.6	1.5.10
1.5.7	1.5.6
1.5.8	1.5.15
1.5.9	1.5.14
1.5.10	—
1.5.11	1.5.8
—	1.5.11-13
1.5.12	1.5.4
1.5.13	—
1.5.14	1.5.22
1.5.15-6	—
1.5.17	1.5.21
1.5.18-26	—
—	1.5.17-8
—	1.5.20
—	**Sṛṣṭikamapa°6**
—	1.6,1-8
6. **Vedapraśaṁsāpā°** 4	
1.6.1—2	—
1.6.3	2.163.116

SSSN	SRHt
1.6.4	—
—	1.4.1.8
7. **Hitopadeśapa°**	7. **Dharmopa°**
1.7.1	2.163.1
—	1.8.1
1.7.2	1.8.2
1.7.3	—
1.7.4	1.8.3
—	1.8.4-6
1.7.5	1.8.7
—	1.8.8-12
1.7.6	1.8.13
1.7.7-10	—
—	1.8.14-23
	8. **Dharmapraśaṁsapa°**
	see SSSN 10
8 **Cārapapa°23**	
—	1.23.1-2
1.8.1	1.23.3
—	1.23.4
1.8.2	—
1.8.3	1.23.5
—	1.23.6—7

SSSN	SRHt
9. **Anācārapa°**	24
1.9.1	1.24.1
—	1.24.2
1.9.2	1.24.3
—	1.24.4
10. **Dharmapa°**	8. **Dharmapraśāṁsapa°**
1.10.1	1.8.1
1.10.2-3	—
—	1.8.2-19
11. **Adharmapa°**	9. **Adharmapraśaṁsāpa°**
1.11.1	1.9.1
—	1.9.2-4
1.11.2	1.9.5
—	1.9.6-11
1.11.3	1.9.12
—	1.9.13-4
12. **Satyapa°**	10. **Satyapraśaṁsāpa°**
—	1.10.1
1.12.1	1.10.2
—	1.10.3-8
1.12.2	1.10.9

SSSN	SRHt
13. Asatyapa°	11
—	1.11.1
1.13.1	1.11.2
1.13.2	1.11.3
—	1.11.4-5
	12. Dambhapa° See SSSN 1.30
14. Dānapa°	13. Danapraśaṁsāpa°
—	1.13.1
1.14.1	1.13.6
1.14.2	1.13.3
—	1.13.4-5
—	1.13.7
1.14.3	1.13.8
1.14.4	1.13.9
1.14.5	1.13.10
1.14.6	1.13.2
1.14.7	—
1.14.8	1.13.11
1.14.9	—
—	1.13.12-15
1.14.10	1.13.16
1.14.11-12	—
—	1.13.17*

SSSN	SRHt
1.14.13	2.181.30 See also below
	14. Annapraśaṁsapa°
—	1.14.1-7
	15. Jaladāna praśaṁsāpa°
—	1.15.1-4
	16. Bhūmidānapa°
—	1.16.1-2
	17. Tilodānapa°
—	1.17.1
	18. Vidyādānapa°
—	1.18.1-3
	19. Suvarṇadāna
—	1.19.1
15. Adānapa°	
1.15.1-2	—
16. Tapaḥpa°	20. Tepaḥpraśaṁsāpa°
1.16.1	1.20.1
1.16.2	4.196.20
—	1.20.2-7
17. Ahiṁsapa°	21
1.17.1	1.21.1
1.17.2-3	— 1.21.2-3

SSSN	SRHt
18. Kṣamāpa°	179
1.18.1-2	—
—	2.179.1-6
1.18.3	2.179.7
—	2.179.8-15
19. Dayāpa°	22
1.19.1	—
—	1.22.1-3
1.19.2	1.22.4
20. Damapa°	
1.20.1	—
21. Śilapa°	
1.21.1-5	—
	23. and 24 Acārapa° and Anācārapa° See SSSN 1.8 and 1.9
22. Gṛhasthadharmapa°	25. Gṛhasthapa°
—	1.25.1
1.22.1..	1.25.2
—	1.25.3-8
1.22.2	1.25.9
1.22.3	1.25.10
1.22.4	1.25.11
	26. Sādhvīpa° See SSSNI/.24

SSSN	SRHt
23. Patipa°	27 Pati-praśaṁsā-pa°
—	1.27.1-3
1.23.1	1.27.4
1.23.2	1.27.5
1.23.3	1.27.6
24. Sādhvīpa°	26
1.24.1	1.26.1
—	1.26.2
1.24.2	1.26.3
—	1.26.4-9
1.24.3	1.26.10
1.24.4	1.26.11
—	1.26.12-6*
	27. Pāti-prasaṁsā-pa° See SSSN 1.23
25. Vidvat-pa°	28. Śruta-praśaṁsā-pa°
1.25.1	1.28.1
1.15.2	1.28.3
1.25.3	1.28.2
—	1.28.4-6
1.25.4	1.28.7
1.25.5	1.28.8
—	1.28.9

SSSN	SRHt
1.25.6	1.28.10
—	1.28.11
1.25.7	1.28.12
—	1.28.13-5*
26: Ajñapa°	29. Ajña-praśaṁsā-pa°
1.26.1	1.29.1
1.26.2	1.29.2
—	1.29.3-5
1.26.3	1.29.6
—	1.29.7-10
1.26.4	1.29.11
—	1.29.12-19
1.26.5	1.29.20
—	1.29.21-3
1.26.6	1.29.24
1.26.7	—
1.26.8	1.29.25
1.26.9	1.29.26
1.26.10	1.29.27
1.26.11	1.29.28
—	1.29.29-35
—	1.29.36-47*
	30. Kāvya-praśaṁsā-pa° see SSSN 2.52

SSSN	SRHt
27. Sajjanapa°	31. Sanapa°
1.27.1	1.31.1
1.27.2	1.31.2
—	1.31.3
1.27.3	1.31.4
—	1.31.5-6
1.27.4	—
1.27.5	1.31.7
1.27.6	1.31.8
1.27.7	1.31.9
—	1.31.10
1.27.8	1.31.11
1.27.9	1.31.15
—	1.31.12-3
1.27.10	1.31.14
1.27.11-18	—
—	1.31.16-20
1.27.19	1.31.21
—	1.31.22
1.27.20	1.31.23
—	1.31.24
1.27.21	1.31.25
—	1.31.26-7
1.27.22	1.31.28
—	1.31.29-31

SSSN	SRHt
1.27.23	1.31.32
1.27.24	1.31.33
—	1.31.34-5
1.27.25	1.31.36
1.27.26	—
—	1.31.37-55*
28. **Durjanapa°**	32
1.28.1	1.32.1
1.28.2	1.32.2
—	1.32.3-4
1.28.3	1.32.5
1.28.4	—
—	1.32.6-12
1.28.5	1.32.14
1.28.6	1.32.59
1.28.7	1.32.53
1.28.8	1.32.13
1.28.9	1.32.15
—	1.32.16-25
(2.93.3)	1.32.26
1.28.10	1.32.27
1.28.11	—
—	1.32.28-35
1.28.12	1.32.36
—	1.32.37-8

SSSN	SRHt
(2.93.5)	1.32.39
—	1.32.40-6
(2.136.42)	1.32.47
—	1.32.48
1.28.13	1.32.49
—	1.32.50-1
(2.125.15)	1.32.52
—	1.32.54-8
1.28.14	1.32.60
—	1.32.61
1.28.15	1.32.62
1.28.16-22	—
—	1.32.63-4
—	1.32.65-79*
29. **Kalipa°**	33. **Yuga-praśaṁsāpa°**
—	1.33.1-8
1.29.1	1.33.9
1.29.2	—
—	1.33.10-9
30. **Dambhapa°**	12
—	1.12.1-2
1.30.1	1.12.3
1.30.2	1.12.4
1.30.3	1.12.5

SSSN	SRHt
—	1.12.6
1.30.4	1.12.7
1.30.5-7	—
31. **Karmapraśaṁsāpa°**	34
1.31.1	1.34.1
1.31.2	1.34.4
1.31.3	1.34.2
1.31.4	1.34.3
1.31.5	1.34.5
1.31.6	1.34.6
1.31.7	1.34.7
1.31.8	1.34.8
1.31.9	1.34.9
1.31.10	1.34.10
1.31.11	1.34.11
1.31.12	1.34.12
1.31.13	1.34.13
1.31.14	1.34.14
1.31.15	1.34.15
1.31.16	1.32.16
1.31.17	1.34.17
—	1.34.18
1.31.18	1.34.19
1.31.19	1.34.20
1.31.20	1.34.21
1.31.21	1.34.22

SSSN	SRHt
1.31.22-3	—
1.31.24	1.34.23
1.31.25	—
1.31.26	1.34.24
1.31.27-28	—
—	1.31.25*
32, Vidhipraśaṁsāpa°	35
1.32.1	1.35.1
1.32.2	1.35.2
1.32.3	1.35.3
1.32.4	1.35.4
1.32.5	1.35.5
1.32.6	1.35.8
1.32.7	1.35.6
1.32.8	1.35.7
—	1.35.9
1.32.9	1.35.10
1.32.10	1.35.13
1.32.11	1.35.11
1.32.12	1.35.14
1.32.13	1.35.12
—	1.35.15.6
1.32.14	1.35.17
	1.35.18-21
1.32.15	1.35.25

SSSN	SRHt
1.32.16	1.35.22
1.32.17	1.35.26
—	1.35.23-4
—	1.35.27-9
1.32.18	1.35.30
1.32.19	1.35.31
—	1.35.32
—	1.35.35
1.32.20	1.35.36
1.32.21	1.35.34
1.32.22	1.35.33
1.32.23	1.35.37
1.32.24	1.35.39
1.32.25	1.35.42
1.32.26	1.35.38
1.32.27	1.35.40
—	1.35.41
1.32.28	1.35.43
1.32.29	1.35.45
1.32.30	1.35.44
1.32.31	1.35.46
1.32.32	1.35.48
1.32.33	1.35.47
1.32.34	1.35.49
1.32.35	1.35.51

SSSN	SRHt
1.32.36	1.35.53
1.32.37	—
1.32.38	1.36.2
1.32.39-40	—
1.32.41	1.35.55
1.32.42	1.35.52
1.32.43	1.35.50
1.32.44	1.35.56
1.32.45	—
—	1.35.54
—	1.35.57
33, Durvidhipa°	**36. Durvidhipralaṁ° sāpa°**
1.33.1	1.36.1
(1.32.38)	1.36.2
—	1.36.3
1.33.2	1.36.4
—	1.36.5
1.33.3	1.36.7
1.33.4	1.36.6
34. Mṛtyupa°	**37. Mṛtyupraśaṁsāpa°**
1.34.1	1.37.1
—	1.37.2
1.34.2	1.37.3

SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt
—	1.37.4-5	1.34.11	1.37.14		
1.34.3	1.37.6	1.34.12	—		
1.34.4	1.37.9	—	1.37.15		
1.34.5	1.37.7	—	1.37.17-9*		
1.34.6	1.37.10	—	1.37.21-2		
—	1.37.8	1.34.13	1.37.23		
—	1.37.11-2	—	1.37.24-5		
1.34.7	1.37.13				
1.34.8	1.37.16	35, **Dharmaśaṅkāpa°**			
1.34.9	1.37.20	1—14	—		
1.34.10	—				

2. Arthaparva

SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt
1, Viṣayapratij-ñāpa°		2.3.10	2.39.21	2.4.3	2.40.6
2.1.1—15	—	2.3.11	2.39.18	2.4.4	—
		—	2.39.20	2.4.5	2.40.3
2. **Rājalakṣaṇapa°**	38	2.3.12	2.39.23	2.4.6	2.40.4
2.2.1	2.38.1	2.3.13	2.39.22	—	2.40.5
2.2.2	2.38.2	—	2.39.24	—	2.40.7-10
2.2.3	2.38.4	2.3.14	2.39.25	2.4.7	2.40.11
2.2.4	2.38.3	2.3.15	2.39.29	2.4.8	2.40.12
		2.3.16	2.39.30	2.4.9	2.40.13
3. **Rājapraśaṁsāpa°**	39	2.3.17	2.39.26	2.4.10	2.40.16
2.3.1	2.39.1	2.3.18	2.39.27	2.4.11	2.40.17
—	2.39.2	—	2.39.28	2.4.12	2.40.14
2.3.2	2.39.5	2.3.19	2.39.31	2.4.13	2.40.15
2.3.3	2.39.3	2.3.20	2.39.32	—	2.40.18
—	2.39.4	2.3.21	2.39.33	2.4.14	2.40.19
—	2.39.6-7	—	2.39.34	2.4.15	2.40.20
2.3.4	2.39.14	2.3.22	2.39.35	2.4.16	2.40.21
2.3.5	2.39.8	2.3.23	2.39.36	—	2.40.22
—	2.39.9	2.3.24	2.39.11	2.4.17	2.40.29
2.3.6	2.39.10	—	2.39.37-8	2.4.18	2.40.23
—	2.39.12-3	—	2.39.39*	—	2.40.24-6
2.3.7	2.39.15	4. **Asadrājapa°**	40	2.4.19	2.40.27
2.3.8	2.39.16	2.4.1	2.40.1	—	2.40.28
2.3.9	2.39.19	2.4.2	2.40.2	—	2.40.30

SSSN	SRHt
2.4.20	2.40.31
2.4.21	2.40.32
2.4.22	2.40.33
2.4.23	2.40.34
2.4.24	2.40.35
—	2.40.36
2.4.25	2.40.37
2.4.26	2.40.38
2.4.27	2.40.39
2.4.28	2.40.40
2.4.29-31	—
2.4.32	(2.181.54)
2.4.33	—
—	2.40.41
—	2.42.44*
5. Arājakapa°	41
2.5.1	2.41.1
2.5.2	2.41.2
2.5.3	2.41.4
2.5.4	2.41.6
2.5.5	2.41.7
2.5.6	2.41.3
2.5.7	2.41.5
2.5.8	2.41.8
2.5.9	2.41.9

SSSN	SRHt
2.5.10	2.72.2
6. **Rājavidyāpa°**	42
2.6.1	2.42.1
2.6.2	2.42.2
7. **Ajñapa°**	72
2.7.1	2.72.1
(2.5.10)	2.72.2
2.7.2	2.72.3
2.7.3	2.72.4
—	2.73.5-6*
8. **Vṛddhasevāpa°**	
2.8.1	2.74.11
2.8.2	2.74.12
2.8.3	2.74.20
9. **Jitendriyapa°**	43
2.9.1	2.43.1
2.9.2	2.43.2
2.9.3	2.43.5
2.9.4	2.43.3
2.9.5	2.43.4
2.9.6	2.43.11
2.9.7	2.43.12
2.9.8	2.43.13
2.9.9	2.43.7
2.9.10	2.43.10

SSSN	SRHt
2.9.11	2.43.8
2.9.12	2.43.9
2.9.13	2.43.14
—	2.43.15
2.9.14	2.43.16
2.9.15	2.43.17
2.9.16	2.43.6
2.9.17	2.43.18
2.9.18	2.43.19
2.9.19-20	—
—	2.43.20*
10. **Ajitendriyapa°**	44
—	2.44.1-2
2.10.1	2.44.3
2.10.2	2.44.4
2.10.3	2.44.6
2.10.4	2.44.5
2.10.5	2.44.7
2.10.6	2.44.8
2.10.7	2.44.10
2.10.8	2.44.9
2.10.9	2.44.11
2.10.10	2.44.12
2.10.11	2.44.13
2.10.12	2.44.14

SSSN	SRHt
11. Vinayapa°	**45**
2.11.1	2.45.1
2.11.2	2.45.2
2.11.3	2.45.4
2.11.4	2.45.3
2.11.5	2.45.5
2.11.6	2.45.6
2.11.7	2.156.99
12. Avinayapa°	**46**
2.12.1	2.46.1
—	2.46.2
13. Utsāhapa°	**78. Utsāhaśaktipa°**
2.31.1	2.78.2
2.13.2	2.78.5
2.13.3	—
2.13.4	2.78.1
—	2.78.3-4
—	2.78.6-7*
14. Prabhuśaktipa°	**79**
2.14.1	2.79.1
15. Mantrapa°	**80. Mantraśaktipa°**
2.15.1	2.80.1
2.15.2	2.80.2
16. Kāmajayapa°	**47**
—	2.47.1—2
2.16.1	2.47.3
—	2.47.4—5
2.16.2	2.47.6
17. Krodhapraśaṁsāpa°	**58**
2.17.1	2.58.2
2.17.2	2.58.1
2.17.3	2.58.3
2.17.4	2.58.4
2.17.5	2.58.5
2.17.6	2.58.6
2.17.7	2.58.7
18. Krodhanindāpa°	**59**
2.18.1	2.59.1
2.18.2	2.59.2
2.18.3	2.59.4
2.18.4	2.59.3
2.18.5	2.59.5
2.18.6	2.59.6
2.18.7	2.59.7
2.18.8	2.59.9
2.18.9	2.59.8
2.18.10	2.59.10
2.18.11	2.59.11
2.18.12	2.59.12
2.18.13	2.59.13
2.18.14	2.59.14
2.18.15	2.59.15
2.18.16-24	—
19. Lobhapa°	**68**
2.19.1	2.68.1
2.19.2	2.68.4
2.19.3	2.68.5
2.19.4	2.68.6
2.19.5	2.68.2
2.19.6	2.68.3
2.19.7	2.68.7
2.19.8-9	—
20. Strīnindāpa°	**53. Strīvyāsapa° and 54. Strīnindāpa°**
2.20.1	2.53.1
—	2.53.2-3
2.20.2	2.53.4
2.20.3	2.54.1
2.20.4	2.54.2
2.20.5	2.54.3

SSSN	SRHt
2.20.6	2.54.4
2.20.7	2.54.5
2.20.8	2.54.6
2.20.9	2.54.7
2.20.10	—
2.20.11	2.54.8
2.20.12	2.54.9
—	2.54.10
2.20.13	2.54.11
2.20.14	2.54.12
2.20.15	2.54.13
2.20.16	2.54.14
2.20.17	2.54.15
2.20.18	2.54.16
21. Dyūtapa°	**50. Dyūta-doṣapa°**
2.21.1	2.50.1
2.21.2	2.50.2
2.21.3	2.50.4
2.21.4	2.50.3
2.21.5	2.50.5
2.21.6	2.50.6
2.21.7	2.50.7
2.21.8-9	—
22. Mṛgayāguṇapa°	**49**
2.22.1	2.49.1

SSSN	SRHt
2.22.2	2.49.2
2.22.3	2.49.3
2.22.4	2.49.4
2.22.5	2.49.5-6
2.22.6	2.49.7
23. Mṛgayā-nindapa°	**48. Mṛgayā-doṣapa°**
2.23.1	2.48.1
2.23.2	2.48.2
2.23.3	2.48.6
2.23.4	2.48.7
2.23.5	2.48.3
—	2.48.4
2.23.6	2.48.5
2.23.7	2.48.8
2.23.8	2.48.9
24. Pānadoṣapa°	**55**
2.24.1	2.55.1
2.24.2	2.55.3
2.24.3	2.55.2
2.24.4	2.55.4
25. Vākyapāruṣyapa°	**66**
2.25.1	2.66.1
2.25.2	2.66.3
2.25.3	2.66.2
2.25.4	2.66.4

SSSN	SRHt
2.25.5	2.66.5
2.25.6	2.66.6
2.25.7	2.66.7
26. Daṇḍapāruṣyapa°	**67**
2.26.1	2.67.1
2.26.2	2.67.2
—	2.67.3
2.26.3	2.67.4 2.67.5*ab*
2.26.4	2.67.5*cd* 2.67.*bis*
27. Arthadūṣaṇapa°	**65**
2.27.1	2.65.1
2.27.2	2.65.2
2.27.3	2.65.3
2.27.4	2.65.4
2.27.5	2.65.5
2.27.6	2.65.6
2.27.7	2.65.7
28. Harṣapa°	**70**
2.28.1	2.70.1
2.28.2	2.70.2
2.28.3	2.70.3
2.28.4	2.70.4
2.28.5	2.70.5
2.28.6	2.70.6

SSSN	SRHt
2.28.7	2.70.7
2.28.8	2.70.8
29. **Asūyāpa°**	64
2.29.1	2.64.1
30. **Sahasapa°**	61. **Sahasadoṣapa°**
2.30.1	2.61.1
2.30.2	—
2.30.3	2.61.2
31. **Mānapa°**	69
2.31.1	2.69.1
2.31.2	2.69.2
2.31.3	2.69.3
32. **Pramādapa°**	71
2.32.1	2.71.1
2.32.2	2.71.2
—	2.71.3
2.32.3	2.71.4
—	2.71.5
2.32.4	2.71.6
2.32.5	2.71.7
33. **Divāsvapnanindāpa°**	51
2.33.1	2.51.1
2.33.2	2.51.2
34. **Parivadapa°**	52. **Parivadadoṣapa°**
2.34.1	2.52.1
2.34.2	2.52.2
2.34.3	—
2.34.4	2.52.3
	56. **Tauryatrikapa°**
—	2.56.1
—	2.56.2
	57. **Vṛthāṭāṭyāpa°**
—	2.57.1
35. **Rājavṛttapa°**	156
2.35.1	2.156.1
2.35.2	2.156.2
2.35.3	2.156.4
2.35.4	2.156.3
2.35.5	2.156.5
2.35.6	2.156.6
2.35.7	2.156.7
2.35.8	2.156.8
2.35.9	2.156.9
2.35.10	2.156.10
2.35.11	2.156.11
—	2.156.12
2.35.12	2.156.13
2.35.13	2.156.14
2.35.14	2.156.15
—	2.156.16
—	2.156.17
2.35.15	2.156.18
2.35.16	2.156.19
2.35.17	2.156.20
2.35.18	2.156.21
2.35.19	2.156.22
—	2.156.23
2.35.20	2.156.24
2.35.21	2.156.25
—	2.156.26
2.35.22	2.156.27
2.35.23	2.156.28
2.35.24	2.156.29
2.35.25	—
2.35.26	—
—	2.156.30
—	2.156.31
2.35.27	2.156.32
2.35.28	2.156.33
2.35.29	2.156.34
2.35.30	2.156.35
2.35.31	2.156.36

SSSN	SRHt
2.35.32	2.156.37
—	2.156.38
2.35.33	2.156.39
2.35.34	2.156.40
2.35.35	2.156.41
2.35.36	2.156.42
2.35.37	2.156.43
2.35.38	2.156.44
2.35.39	2.156.45
2.35.40	2.156.46
2.35.41	2.156.47
2.35.42	2.156.48
(2.135.66)	2.156.49
—	2.156.50
—	2.156.51
2.35.43	2.156.52
2.35.44	2.156.53
2.35.45	2.156.54
2.35.46	2.156.55
2.35.47	2.156.56
2.35.48	2.156.57
2.35.49	2.156.58
2.35.50	2.156.59
—	2.156.60
2.35.51	2.156.61

SSSN	SRHt
2.35.52	2.156.62
2.35.53	2.156.63
2.35.54	2.156.64
—	2.156.65
2.35.55	2.156.66
—	2.156.67-70
2.35.56	2.156.71
2.35.57	2.156.72
—	2.156.73-6
2.35.58	2.156.77
—	2.156.78
2.35.59	2.156.79
2.35.60	2.156.80
2.35.61	2.156.81
2.35.62	2.156.82
2.35.63	2.156.83
2.35.64	2.156.84
2.35.65	2.156.85
2.35.66	2.156.86
2.35.67	2.156.87
—	2.156.88-9
2.35.68	2.156.90
2.35.69	2.156.91
2.35.70	2.156.92
2.35.71	2.156.93

SSSN	SRHt
2.35.72	2.156.94
2.35.73	2.156.95
2.35.74	2.156.96
2.35.75	2.156.97
2.35.76	2.156.98
2.35.77	2.156.99 2.11.7
2.35.78	2.156.100
2.35.79	2.156.101
2.35.80	2.156.102
2.35.81	2.156.103
2.35.82	1.156.104
2.35.83	(2.163.54)
2.35.84-86	—
2.35.87	(2.163.35)
2.35.88	(2.82.13)
2.35.89	(2.82.15)
2.35.90	(2.83.11)
2.35.91	(2.180.46)
2.35.92	(2.163.141)
2.35.93-6	—
36. **Dinacaryāpa°**	158
—	2.158.1
2.36.1	2.158.2
2.36.2	2.158.3 2.158.3*bis*

SSSN	SRHt
2.36.3	2.158.4
2.36.4	2.158.5
2.36.5	2.158.6
2.36.6	2.158.7
2.36.7	2.158.8
2.36.8	2.158.10
2.36.9	2.158.9
2.36.10	2.158.11
2.36.11	2.158.12
2.36.12	12.158.13
2.36.13	12.158.14
2.36.14	12.158.15
2.36.15	2.158.16
—	2.158.17-9
37. Karādanapa°	**157**
2.37.1	2.157.1
2.37.2	2.157.2
—	2.157.3
2.37.3	2.157.4
2.37.4	2.157.5
2.37.5	2.157.6
2.37.6	2.157.7
—	2.157.8-9
2.37.7	2.157.10
2.37.8	2.157.11

SSSN	SRHt
2.37.9	2.157.12
2.37.10	—
2.37.11	(2,88,23)
38. Ātmarakṣāpa°	**159**
2.38.1	2.159.1
—	2.159.2
2.38.2	2.159.3
2.38.3	2.159.4
2.38.4	2.159.5
2.38.5	2.159.6
2.38.6	2.159.7
2.38.7	2.159.8
2.38.8	2.159.9
2.38.9	2.159.10
2.38.10	2.159.11 2.159.11.½
2.38.11-3	
29 Rājyarakṣāpa°	**160**
2.39.1	2.160.1
2.39.2	2.160.2
2.39.3	2.160.3
2.39.4	2.160.4
2.39.5	2.160.5
2.39.6	2.160.6
2.39.7	2.160.7

SSSN	SRHt
2.39.8	2.160.8
2.39.9	2.160.9
2.39.10	2.160.10
2.39.11 *ab/cd*	2.160.11
2.39.11 *ef*	—
—	2.160.11½
40. Kaṇṭakaśodhanapa°	**161**
2.40.1	2.161.1
2.40.2	2.161.2
2.40.3	2.161.3
2.40.4	2.161.4
2.40.5	2.161.5
2.40.6	2.161.6
—	2.161.7
2.40.7	2.161.8
2.48.8	2.161.9
—	2.161.10
2.40.9	2.161.11
41. Lokarañjanapa°	**162**
2.41.1	2.162.1
2.41.2	2.162.2
2.41.3	2.162.4
2.41.4	2.162.5
2.41.5	2.162.3
—	2.162.6

SSSN	SRHt
2.41.6	2.162.7
2.41.7	2.162.8
2.41.8	2.162.9
42. Kīrtipa°	154
2.42.1	2.154.1
2.42.2	2.154.3
2.42.3	—
2.42.4	2.154.2
2.42.5-6	2.154.4-5
43. Akīrtipa°	155
2.43.1	2.155.1
2.43.2	2.155.2
—	2.155.3-4*
44, Rajacāṭupa°	153
2.44.1	2.153.1
2.44.2	2.153.2
2.44.3	2.153.3
2.44	2.153.4
2.44	2.153.5
2.44.6	—
2.44.7	2.153.6
2.44.8-14	—
2.44.15	2.153.7
—	2.153.8
2.44.16	2.153.9

SSSN	SRHt
2.44.17	2.153.10
2.44.18-60[1]	—
—	2.153.11-2
45. Purohitapa°	81
2.45.1	2.81.1
2.45.2	2.81.2
2.45.3	2.81.3
2.45.4	2.81.4
2.45.5	2.81.5
46. Duṣpurohitapa°	
2.46.1	—
47 Dvāḥsthapa°	12 Dauvārikapa°
2.47.1	2.122.1
48. Vaidyapa°	109 Vaidyaśaṁsāpa°
2.48.1	2.109.3
2.48.2	2.109.4
2.48.3	2.109.5
2.48.4	2.109.6
2.48.5	2.109.1
2.48.6	2.109.2
2.48.7	2.109.7

(1) Contains many verses which cannot be considered as Subhāṣita-s; includes also the eulogy of Kampaka

SSSN	SRHt
2.48.8	2.109.8
49. Asadvaidyapa°	110
2.49.1	2.110.1
2.49.2	2.110.4
2.49.3	2.110.6
2.49.4	2.110.7
2.49.5	2.110.10
2.49.6	2.110.12
2.49.7	2.110.13
2.49.8	2.110.2
2.49.9	2.110.3
2.49.10	2.110.5
2.49.11	2.110.8
2.49.12	2.110.9
2.49.13	2.10.11
50. Kavipraśaṁsāpa°	111
2.50.1	2.111.1
2.50.2	2.111.2
2.50.3	2.111.3
2.50.4	2.111.4
2.50.5-8	—
51. Kukavinindāpa°	112. Kukavipa°
2.51.1	2.112.1
2.51.2	2.112.2

SSSN	SRHt
—	2.112.3
2.51.3	2.112.4
2.51.4	2.112.5
2.51.5-6	—
52. Kāvyapreṣaṇasāpa°	1.30
2.52.1	1.30.1 (cf. SSSN 1.2.5)
2.52.2	1.30.2
2.52.3	1.30.3
2.52.4	1.30.4
(1.2.7)	1.30.5
2.52.5	1.30.6
2.52.6-8	—
53, Antaraṅganindāpa°	104
2.53.1	2.104.1
2.53.2	2.104.2
2.53.3	2.104.4
2.53.4	2.104.5
2.53.5	2.104.3
2.53.6	2.104.6
2.53.7	2.104.7
—	2.104.8-11
2.53.8	2.104.12
2.53.9	2.104.13
2.53.10	2.104.14
2.53.11	2.104.15

SSSN	SRHt
2.53.12	2.104.16
2.53.13	2.104.17
54. Putrapa°	74
2.54.1	2.74.1
2.54.2	2.74.2
2.54.3	2.74.3
2.54.4	2.74.4
—	2.74.5
2.54.5	2.74.6
2.54.6	2.74.7
2.54.7	2.74.8
2.54.8	2.74.9
2.54.9	2.74.10
(2.8.1)	2.74.11
(2.8.2)	2.74.12
—	2.74.13-5
2.54.10	2.74.16
—	2.74.17
2.54.11	2.74.18
2.54.12	2.74.19
(2.8.3)	2.74.20
55. Asatputrapa°	75. Duṣputrapa°
2.55.1	2.75.1
2.55.2	2.75.2
2.55.3	2.57.3

SSSN	SRHt
2.55.4	2.75.4
2.55.5	2.75.5
2.55.6	2.75.6
2.55.7	2.75.7
2.55.8	2.75.8
2.55.9	2.75.9
2.55.10	2.75.10
56. Bhrātṛpa°	76
2.56.1	2.76.1
—	2.76.2-8
2.56.2	2.76.9
2.56.3	(2.105.4)
2.56.4	(2.105.5)
2.56.5	(2.105.6)
2.56.6	(2.105.7)
—	2.76.10-4
57. Asadbhrātṛpa°	77
2.57.1	2.77.1
—	2.72.2
2.57.2	2.77.3
2.57.3	2.77.4
—	2.77.5
2.57.4	2.77.6
—	2.77.7-11
2.57.5	2.77.12

SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt
2.57.6	(2.165.7)	—	2.108.4	2.63.6	2.82.6
58. **Sadbhṛtyapa**°	105	2.61.4	2.108.5	—	2.82.7
2.58.1	2.105.1	—	2.108.6	2.63.7	2.82.8
2.58.2	2.105.2	2.61.5	2.108.7	2.63.8	2.82.9
2.58.3	2.105.3	2.61.6	2.108.8	2.63.9	2.82.10
(2.56.3)	2.105.4	2.61.7	2.108.9	2.63.10	2.82.11
(2.56.4)	2.105.5	2.61.8	2.108.10	2.63.11	2.82.12
(2.56.5)	2.105.6	2.61.9	2.108.11	2.63.12 } 2.35.88 }	2.82.13
(2.56.6)	2.105.7	2.61.10	2.108.12	2.63.13	2.82.14
—	2.105.8*	2.61.11	2.108.13	2.63.14 } 3.35.89 }	2.82.15
59. **Asadbhṛtyapa**°	106	—	2.108.14	2.63.15	2.82.16
2.59.1	2.106.1	2.61.12	2.108.15	2.63.16	2.82.17
2.59.2	2.106.2	2.61.13	2.108.16	2.63.17	2.82.18
2.59.3	2.106.3	2.61.14	2.108.17	2.63.18	2.82.19
2.59.4	2.106.4	2.61.15	2.108.18	2.63.19	2.82.20
—	2.106.5-6	2.61.16	2.108.19	2.63.20	2.82.21
2.59.5	2.106.7	2.61.17	2.108.20	2.63.21	{ 2.82.22 (2.123.35)
60. **Viśvāsapa**°	107	62. **Sūdanāyakapa**°	119. **Sūdadhyakṣapa**°	2.63.22	2.82.23.
2.60.1	2.107.1	2.62.1	2.119.1	2.63.23	2.82.24
2.60.2	2.107.2	63. **Mantripa**°	82	2.63.24	2.82.25
—	2.107.3	2.63.1	2.82.1	—	2.82.26
61. **Aviśvāsapa**°	108	2.63.2	2.82.2	2.63.25	2.82.27
2.61.1	2.108.1	2.63.3	2.82.3	—	2.82.28
2.61.2	2.108.2	2.63.4	2.82.4	2.63.26	2.82.29
2.61.3	2.108.3	2.63.5	2.82.5		

SSSN	SRHt
2.63.27	2.82.30
—	2.82.31*
64. Duṣṭa-mantripa°	**83. Dur-mantripa°**
2.64.1	2.83.1
2.64.2	2.83.2
2.64.3	2.83.3
2.64.4	2.83.4
2.64.5	2.83.5
2.64.6	2.83.6
2.64.7	2.83.7
2.64.8	2.83.8*ab*/*cd*
2.64.9	2.83.8*ef* 2.83.9
2.64.10	2.83.10
2.64.11	2.83.11
2.64.12	2.83.12
2.64.13	2.83.13
2.64.14	2.83.14
2.64.15	2.83.15
2.64.16	2.83.16
2.64.17	2.83.17
2.64.18	2.83.18
65. Buddhipraśaṃsāpa°	**84**
2.65.1	2.84.1
2.65.2	2.84.2

SSSN	SRHt
2.65.3	2.84.3
2.65.4	2.84.4
2.65.5	2.84.5
2.65.6	2.84.6
2.65.7	2.84.7
2.65.8	2.84.8
2.65.9	2.84.9
2.65.10	2.84.10
2.65.11	2.84.11
2.65.12	2.84.12
2.65.13	2.84.13
66. Mantra-prasaṃsā-pa°	**85. Man-trapa°**
2.66.1	2.85.1
2.66.2	2.85.2
2.66.3	2.85.3
2.66.4	2.85.4
2.66.5	2.85.5
—	2.85.6
2.66.6	2.85.7
2.66.7	2.85.8
2.66.8	2.85.9
2.66.9	2.85.10
2.66.10	2.85.11
2.66.11*ab* 2.66.11*cd*	— 2.85.12*ab*

SSSN	SRHt
2.66.12	2.85.12*cd* 2.85.13*ab*
2.66.13	2.85.13*cd* 2.85.14*ab*
2.66.14	2.85.14*cd* 2.85.15*ab*
2.66.15	2.85.15*cd*/*ef*
2.66.16	2.85.16
2.66.17	2.85.17
2.66.18	2.85.18
2.66.19	2.85.19
2.66.20	2.85.20
2.66.21	2.85.21
2.66.22	—
—	2.85.22*
67. Mantradeśapa°	**87**
68. Mantrākālapa°	**86**
2.67.1	2.87.2
2.68.1	2.86.1
2.68.2	2.87.1
69. Sāmapa°	**128**
2.69.1	2.128.1
2.69.2	2.128.2
2.69.3	2.128.3
2.69.4	2.128.4
70. Bhedapa°	**129**
2.70.1	2.129.1

SSSN	SRHt
2.70.2	2.129.2
2.70.3	2.129.3
2.70.4	2.129.4
—	2.129.5
2.70.5	2.129.6
71. Dānapa°	130
2.71.1	2.130.1
2.71.2	2.130.2
72. Daṇḍapa°	131
2.72.1	2.131.1
73. Sandhipa°	132
2.73.1	2.132.1
2.73.2	2.132.2
2.73.3	2.132.3
2.72.4	2.132.4
2.73.5	2.132.5
74. Sandheyapa°	133
2.74.1	2.133.1
2.74.2	2.133.2
75. Asandhayapa°	134
2.75.1	2.134.1
2.75.2	2.134.2
2.75.3	2.134.3
2.75.4	2.134.4
2.75.5	2.134.5

SSSN	SRHt
2.75.6	2.134.6
76. Sandhinindapa°	135. Sandhidūṣaṇapa°
2.76.1	2.135.1
2.76.2	2.135.2
2.76.3	2.135.3
2.76.4	2.135.4
77. Dūtapa°	138
2.77.1	2.138.1
2.77.2	2.138.2
2.77.3	2.138.3
2.77.4	2.138.4
2.77.5	2.138.5
2.77.6	2.138.
2.77.7	2.138.
2.77.8	2.138.8
2.77.9	2.138.9
2.77.10	2.138.10
2.77.11	—
78. Duṣṭadūtapa°	139
2.78.1	2.139.1
2.78.2	2.139.2
79. Cārapa°	140
2.79.1	2.140.1
2.79.2	2.140.2

SSSN	SRHt
2.79.3	2.140.3
2.79.4	2.140.4
2.79.5	2.140.5
2.79.6	2.140.6
2.79.7	2.140.7
80. Vairapa°	136
2.80.1	2.136.2
2.80.2	2.136.3
2.80.3	2.136.4
2.80.4	2.136.5
2.80.5	2.136.6
2.80.6	2.136.7
2.80.7	2.136.1
81. Vigrahapa°	137
2.81.1	2.137.1
2.81.2	2.137.2
2.81.3	2.137.3
82. Yānapa°	141
2.82.1	2.141.1
2.82.2	2.141.2
2.82.3	2.141.3
2.82.4	2.141.4
2.82.5	2.141.5
2.82.6	2.141.6
2.82.7	{ 2.141.8*cd* 2.141.9*ab*

SSSN	SRHt
2.82.8	2.141.9cd 2.141.10ab
2.82.9	2.141.10cd 2.141.7ab
2.82.10	2.141.7cd 2.141.8ab
2.82.11	2.141.11
2.82.12	2.141.12
2.82.13	2.141.13
2.82.14	2.141.14
83. Sunimittapa°	142
2.83.1	2.142.1
2.83.2	2.142.2
2.83.3	2.142.3
2.83.4	2.142.4
2.83.5	2.142.5
2.83.6	2.142.6
84. Animittapa°	143
2.84.1	2.143.1
2.84.2	2.143.2
85. Āsanapa°	144
2.85.1	2.144.1
2.85.2	—
86. Abhiyuktaprakriyāpa°	45. Abhiyuktapratikriy pa°
2.86.1	2.145.1
2.86.2	2.145.2
—	2.145.3

SSSN	SRHt
2.86.3	2.145.4
2.86.4	2.145.5
2.86.5	2.145.6
2.86.6	2.145.7
2.86.7	2.145.8 2.145.9ab
2.86.8	2.145.9cd 2.145.10ab
2.86.9	2.145.10cd 2.145.11ab
2.86.10	2.145.11cd 2.145.12ab
2.86.11	2.145.12cd 2.145.13
87. Dvaidhibhāvapa°	147
2.87.1	2.147.1
88. Samāśrayapa°	148. Āśrayapa°
2.88.1	2.148.1
2.88.2	2.148.2
2.88.3	2.148.3
2.88.4	2.148.5
2.88.5	2.148.4
89. Rājalekhakapa°	116
2.89.1	2.116.1
2.89.2	2.116.2
90. Kāyasthanindāpa°	115
2.90.1	2.115.1

SSSN	SRHt
—	2.115.2
2.90.2	2.115.3
2.90.3	2.115.4
—	2.115.5
2.90.4	2.115.6
2.90.5	2.115.7
2.90.6	2.115.8
2.90.7	2.115.9
2.90.8	2.115.10
2.90.9	2.115.11
2.90.10	2.115.12
—	2.115.13
2.90.11	2.115.14
91. Gāyakanindapa°	125. Gāyananindapa°
2.91.1	2.125.1
2.91.2	2.125.2
2.91.3	—
92. Svarṇakāranindāpa°	126
2.92.1	2.116.2
2.92.2	2.116.1
2.92.3	2.116.3
93. Piśunapa°	60. Paiśunya-pa°
—	2.60.1
2.93.1	2.60.2

D

SSSN	SRHt
2.93.2	2.60.3
2.93.3	(1.32.26)
2.93.4	—
2.93.5	(1.32.39)
2.93.6	—
	61. Sāhasa-doṣapa° See SSSN 2.30
	62. Droha-pa°
—	2.62.1
	63. Īrṣyāpa°
—	2.63.1-4
	73. Daṇḍa-pa°(see131)
—	2.73.1-12
94. Adhikāripa°	120
2.94.1	2.120.1
2.94.2	2.120.2
2.94.3	2.120.3
—	2.120.4
2.94.4	2.120.5
95. Duṣṭādhikāripa°	121
2.95.1	2.121.1
2.95.2	2.121.2
2.95.3	2.121.3
2.95.4	2.121.4

SSSN	SRHt
2.95.5	—
96. Mitrapa°	88
2.96.1	2.88.1
2.96.2	2.88.2
2.96.3	2.88.3
2.96.4	2.88.4
2.96.5	2.88.5
2.96.6	2.88.6
2.96.7	2.88.7
2.96.8	2.88.8
2.96.9	2.88.9
2.96.10	2.88.10
2.96.11	2.88.11
2.96.12	2.88.12
2.96.13	2.88.13
—	2.88.14
2.96.14	2.88.15
2.96.15	2.88.16
2.96.16	2.88.17
2.96.17	2.88.18
2.96.18	2.88.19
2.96.19	2.88.20
—	2.88.21
2.96.20	2.88.22
(2.37.11)	2.88.23

SSSN	SRHt
2.96.21	2.88.24
2.96.22	2.88.30
2.96.23	2.88.25
2.96.24	2.88.26
2.96.25	2.88.27
2.96.26	2.88.28
2.96.27	2.88.29
—	2.88.31-4*
97. Amitrapa°	89. Asan-mitrapa°
2.97.1	2.89.1
2.97.2	2.89.2
2.97.3	2.89.3
2.97.4	2.89.4
2.97.5	2.89.5
2.97.6	2.89.6
—	2.89.7
2.97.7	2.89.8
2.97.8	2.89.9
2.97.9	2.89.10
—	2.89.11-4*
98. Kośasaṅ-grahapa°	90. Kośa-pa°
2.98.1	2.90.1
2.98.2	2.90.2
2.98.3	2.90.3
2.98.4	2.90.4

SSSN	SRHt
—	2.90.5
2.98.5	2.90.6
2.98.6	2.90.7
2.98.7	2.90.8
2.98.8	2.90.9
2.98.9	2.90.10
99, Kośa-hānipa°	**91. Kośaha-nidoṣapa°**
2.99.1	2.91.1
2.99.2	2.91.2
2.99.3	2.91.3
100. Arthapraśaṃsāpa°	164
2.100.1	2.164.1
2.100.2	2.164.2
2.100.3	2.164.3
2.100.4	2.164.4
—	2.164.5-6
2.100.5	2.164.7
2.100.6	2.164.8
—	2.164.9
2.100.7	2.164.10
2.100.8	2.164.11
2.100.9	2.164.12
101. Arthanindāpa°	165
2.101.1	2.165.1

SSSN	SRHt
2.101.2	2.165.2
—	2.165.3
2.101.3	—
2.101.4	2.165.4
2.101.5	2.165.5
2.101.6	2.165.6
(2.57.6)	2.165.7
102. Rāṣṭrapraśaṃsāpa°	**92. Rāṣṭraguṇapa°**
2.102.1	2.92.1
2.102.2	2.92.2
2.102.3	{ 2.92.3*ab* { 2.92.4
2.102.4	2.92.5
—	2.92.6
2.102.5	2.92.7
2.102.6	2.92.8
2.102.7	2.92.9
103. Durgapa°	93
2.103.1	2.93.1
2.103.2	2.93.2
2.103.3	2.93.3
2.103.4	2.93.4
2.103.5	2.93.5
2.103.6	2.93.6
2.103.7	2.93.7

SSSN	SRHt
2.103.8	2.93.8
2.103.9	2.93.9
104. Senāpatipa°	94
2.104.1	2.94.1
2.104.2	2.94.2
2.104.3	2.94.3
2.104.4	2.94.4
2.104.5	2.94.5
2.104.6	2.94.6
2.104.7	2.94.7
2.104.8	2.94.8
105. Duṣṭasenāpatipa°	
2.105.1	2.94.9
106. Rathapa°	
2.106.1	—
	95. Balapa°
—	2.95.1-7
—	2.95.8*
107. Sārathipa°	117
2.107.1	2.117.1
108. Gajapa°	**96. Gaja-praśaṃsāpa°**
2.108.1	2.96.1
2.108.2	2.96.2
2.108.3	2.96.3
2.108.4	2.96.4

SSSN	SRHt
2.108.5	2.96.5
2.108.6	2.96.6
2.108.7	2.96.7
109. Aśvapa-pa°	**97. Turaga-praśaṃsāpa°**
2.109.1	2.97.1
2.109.2	2.97.2
2.109.3	2.97.3
2.109.4	2.97.4
2.109.5	2.97.5
2.109.6	2.97.6
2.109.7	2.97.7
2.109.8	2.97.8
2.109.9	2.97.9
2.109.10	2.97.10
2.109.11-2	—
110. **Padātipa°**	98
2.110.1	2.98.1
2.110.2	2.98.2
2.110.3	2.98.3
2.110.4	2.98.4
111. **Vīrapa°**	99
2.111.1	2.99.1
2.111.2	2.99.2
2.111.3	2.99.3
2.111.4	2.99.4

SSSN	SRHt
2.111.5	2.99.5
—	2.99.6
2.111.6	2.99.7
2.111.7	2.99.8
2.111.8	2.99.9
2.111.9	2.99.10
2.111.10	2.99.11
2.111.11	2.99.12
2.111.12	2.99.13
2.111.13	2.99.14
2.111.14	2.99.15
2.111.15	2.99.16
—	2.99.17
2.111.16	2.99.18
2.111.17	2.99.19
2.111.18	2.99.20
2.111.19	2.99.21
2.111.20	2.99.22
2.111.21	2.99.23
2.111.22	2.99.24
2.111.23	2.99.25
2.111.24-8	—
—	2.99.26-41*
112. **Vīravādapa°**	
2.112.1-5	—

SSSN	SRHt
113. **Yuddhapa°**	149
2.113.1	2.149.1
2.113.2	2.149.2
2.113.3	2.149.3
2.113.4	2.149.4
2.113.5	2.149.5
2.113.6	2.149.6
2.113.7	2.149.7
2.113.8	2.149.8
2.113.9	2.149.9
2.113.10	2.149.10
2.113.11	2.149.11
2.113.12	2.149.12
2.113.13	2.149.13
2.113.14	2.149.14
2.113.15	2.149.15
2.113.16	2.149.16
2.113.17	2.149.17
2.113.18	2.149.18
2.113.19	2.149.19
2.113.20	2.149.20
2.113.21	2.149.21
2.113.22	2.149.22
2.113.23	2.149.23
2.113.24	2.149.24

SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt
2.113.25	2.149.25	2.115.2	2.101.2	2.117.4	2.102.5
2.113.26	2.149.26	2.115.3	2.101.3	2.117.5	2.102.6
2.113.27	2.149.27	2.115.4	2.101.4	2.117.6	2.102.7
2.113.28	2.149.28	—	2.101.5	2.117.7	2.102.8
—	2.149.29	2.115.5	2.101.6	2.117.8	2.102.9
2.113.29	2.149.30	2.115.6	2.117.7	2.117.9	2.102.10
—	2.149.31*	116. **Blūrupa°** 100		2.117.10	2.102.11
114. **Kūṭayuddhapa°** 150		2.116.1	2.100.1	2.117.11	2.102.12
2.114.1	2.150.1	2.116.2	2.100.2	2.117.12	2.102.13
2.114.2	2.150.2	2.116.3	2.100.3	2.117.13	2.102.14
2.114.3	2.150.3	2.116.4	2.100.4	2.117.14	2.102.15
2.114.4	2.150.4	2.116.5	2.100.5	2.117.15	2.102.16
2.114.5	2.150.5	—	2.100.6	2.117.16	2.102.17
2.114.6	2.150.6	2.116.6	2.100.7	2.117.17	2.102.18
2.114.7	2.150.7	2.116.7	2.100.8	2.117.18	2.102.19
2.114.8	2.150.8	2.116.8	2.100.9	2.117.19	2.102.20
2.114.9	2.150.9	2.116.9	2.100.10	—	2.102.21
2.114.10	2.150.10	—	2.100.11	—	2.102.22-8*
2.114.11	2.150.11	2.116.10	2.100.12	118. **Mānahīnapa°** 103	
2.114.12	2.150.12	—	2.100.13-6*	—	2.102.1
2.114.13	2.150.13	117. **Mā-nipa°**	102. **Mā-napa°**	2.118.1	2.102.2
2.114.14	2.150.14			2.118.2	2.102.3
2.114.15	2.150.15	2.117.1	2.102.1	2.118.3	2.102.4
115. **Dhī-rapa°**	101. **Dhai-ryapa°**	2.117.2	2.102.2	119. **Vīrapatnīpra-lāpapa°** 151	
		2.117.3	2.102.3		
2.115.1	2.101.1	—	2.102.4	2.119.1	2.151.1

SSSN	SRHt
2.119.2	2.151.2
2.119.3	2.151.3
2.119.4	2.151.4
—	2.151.5
2.119.5	2.151.6
2.119.6	2.151.7
2.119.7	2.151.8
2.119.8	2.151.9
2.119.9	2.151.10
2.119.10	2.151.11
2.119.11-3	—
—	2.151.12*
120. Abhayadānapa°	**152. Abhayapradānapa°**
2.120.1	2.152.1
2.120.2	2.152.2
2.120.3	2.152.3
2.120.4	2.152.4
2.120.5	2.152.5
2.120.6	2.152.6
2.120.7	2.152.7
2.120.8	2.152.8
2.120.9	2.152.9
2.12.10-2	—

SSSN	SRHt
121. **Mahatpa°**	168
2.121.1	2.168.1
2.121.2	2.168.2
—	2.168.3
2.121.3	2.168.4
2.121.4	2.168.5
(2.124.1)	2.168.6
2.121.5	2.168.7
2.121.6 (3.11.1)	2.168.8
—	2.168.9
2.121.7	—
2.121.8	2.168.10 *cd/ab*
2.121.9	2.168.11
2.121.10	2.168.12
2.121.11	2.168.13
2.121.12	2.168.14
2.121.13	2.168.15
2.121.14	2.168.16
—	2.168.17-8
2.121.15	2.168.19
2.121.16	2.168.20
2.121.17	2.168.21
—	2.168.22
2.121.18	2.168.23
2.121-19	2.168.24

SSSN	SRHt
2.121.20	2.168.25
2.121.21	2.168.26
2.121.22	2.168.27
2.121.23	2.168.28
2.121.24	2.168.29
2.121.25	2.168.30
—	2.168.31
2.121.26	2.168.32
2.121.27	2.168.33
2.121.28	2.168.34
2.121.29	2.168.35
—	2.168.36-8
2.121.30	2.168.39
2.121.31	2.168.40
2.121.32	2.168.41
—	2.168.42-54*
122. **Laghupa°**	169
2.122.1	2.169.1
—	2.169.2
—	2.169.3-5*
123. **Kṛtajñapa°**	172
2.123.1	2.172.1
2.123.2	2.172.2
2.123.3	2.172.3
2.123.4	2.172.4

SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt
2.123.5	—	125. **Kṛpaṇapa°**	171	126. **Lakṣmīpraśaṃsāpa°**	166
—	2.172.5-6*	2.125.1	2.171.1	2.126.1	2.166.1
124. **Udārapa°**	170	2.125.2	2.171.2	2.126.2	2.166.2
2.124.1	(2.168.6)	2.125.3	2.171.3	2.126.3	2.166.3
2.124.2	2.170.1	—	2.171.4	2.126.4	2.163.4
2.124.3	2.170.2	(2.124.6)	2.171.5	2.126.5	2.163.5
2.124.4-5	—	2.125.4	2.171.6	—	2.163.6-7
2.124.6	(2.171.5)	2.125.5	2.171.7	2.126.6	2.163.8
2.124.7	2.170.3	—	2.171.8	2.126.7	2.163.9
2.124.8	2.170.4	2.125.6	—	127. **Lakṣmīnindāpa°**	167. **Lakṣmīviḍambanāpa°**
2.124.9	—	2.125.7	2.117.9	2.127.1	2.167.1
2.124.10	2.170.5	2.125.8	2.117.10	2.127.2	2.167.2
—	2.170.6	—	2.171.11-4	2.127.3	2.167.3
2.124.11-2	—	2.125.9	2.171.15	2.127.4	2.167.4
2.124.13	2.170.7	2.125.10	2.171.16	2.127.5	2.167.5
—	2.170.8	2.125.11	2.171.17	2.127.6	2.167.6
2.124.14	2.170.9	2.125.12	2.171.18	2.127.7	2.167.7
2.124.15	2.170.10	2.125.13	2.171.19	—	2.167.8
—	2.170.11	2.125.14	2.171.20	2.127.8	2.167.9
2.124.16	2.170.12	2.125.15	(1.32.52)	2.127.9	2.167.10
2.124.17	—	2.125.16	2.171.21	2.127.10	2.167.11
2.124.18	2.170.13	2.125.17	2.171.22	—	2.167.12
2.124.19	—	2.125.18	2.171.23	2.127.11	2.167.13
—	2.170.14-6*	2.125.19-20	—	2.127.12	2.167.14
		—	2.171.24-31*		

SSSN	SRHt
2.127.13	2.167.15
2.127.14	2.167.16
2.127.15	2.167.17
2.127.16	2.167.27
2.127.17	2.167.28
2.127.18	2.167.29
2.127.19	2.167.30
2.127.20	2.167.18
—	2.167.19
2.127.21	2.167.20
—	2.167.21
2.127.22	2.167.22
2.127.23	2.167.24
2.127.24	2.167.23
2.127.25	2.167.25
2.127.26	2.167.26
—	2.167.31-5*

113-114 Veśyāpraśaṃsāpa° and Veśyānindāpa° See SSSN 3.2-3

118. Sāndhivigrahikapa°

SSSN	SRHt
—	118.1

128. Rājasevapa° 123

SSSN	SRHt
2.128.1	2.123.1
2.128.2	2.123.2
—	2.123.3
2.128.3	2.123.4
2.128.4	2.123.5
2.128.5	2.123.6
2.128.6	2.123.7
2.128.7	2.123.8
2.128.8	2.123.9
2.128.9	2.123.10
2.128.10	2.123.11
2.128.11	2.123.12
2.128.12	2.123.13
2.128.13	2.123.14
2.128.14	2.123.15
2.128.15	2.123.16
2.128.16	2.123.17
2.128.17	2.123.18
2.128.18	2.123.19
2.128.19	2.123.20
2.128.20	2.123.21
2.128.21	2.123.22
2.123.22	2.123.23
2.128.23	2.123.24
2.128.24	2.123.25
2.128.25	2.123.26
2.128.26	2.123.27
2.128.27	2.123.28
2.128.28	2.123.29
2.128.29	2.123.30
2.128.30	2.123.31
—	2.123.32
2.128.31	2.123.33
2.128.32	2.123.34
(2.63.21)	2.123.35
2.128.33	2.123.36
2.128.34	2.123.37
—	2.123.38-9
2.128.35	2.123.40
2.128.36	2.123.41
2.128.37	2.123.42
2.123.38	—

129. Rājasevānindāpa° 124

SSSN	SRHt
22.129.1	2.124.1
—	2.124.2
2.129.2	2.124.3
—	2.124.4
2.129.3	2.124.5
2.129.4	2.124.6
2.129.5	2.124.7
2.129.6	2.124.8

SSSN	SRHt
2.129.7	2.124.9
2.129.8	2.124.10
2.129.9	2.124.11
2.129.10	2.124.12
2.129.11	2.124.13
2.129.12	2.124.14 *cd/ab*
2.129.13	2.124.15
2.129.14	2.124.16
2.129.15	2.124.17
2.129.16	2.124.18
2.129.17	2.124.19
2.129.18	2.124.20
2.129.19	2.124.21
2.129.20	2.124.22
—	2.124.23
	127. Upāya-pa°
—	2.127.1-8
	146. Pararāṣṭrddūṣaṇapa°
—	2.146.1-2
130. Dāridryamindāpa°	**176**
2.130.1	2.176.1
2.130.2	2.176.2
2.130.3	2.176.3

SSSN	SRHt
2.130.4	2.176.4
2.130.5	2.176.5
2.130.6	2.176.6
2.130.7	2.176.7
2.130.8	2.176.8
2.130.9	2.176.9
2.130.10	2.176.10
2.130.11	2.176.11
—	2.176.12-3
2.130.12	2.176.14
—	2.176.15
2.130.13	2.176.16
—	2.176.17-20
2.130.14	2.176.21
2.130.15	2.176 22
2.130.16-7	—
2.130.18 (2.132.8)	(2.174.8)
2.130.19	—
131. Āśāpa° and Bla Tṛṣṇāpa°	**175. Tṛṣṇānindāpā°**
2.131.1	2.175.1
2.131.2	—
2.131.3	2.175.17
2.131.4	—

SSSN	SRHt
2.131.5	(3.201.33)
2.131.6	2.175.6
2.131.7	2.175.7
2.131.8	2.175.8
2.131.9	(2.179.25)
2.131.10	2.175.26
2.131a.1	2.175.12
2.131a.2	2.175.30
2.131a.3	2.175.2
2.131a.4	2.175.3
2.131a.5	2.175.4
—	2.175.5
2.131a.6	2.175.9
—	2.175.10
2.131a.7	2.174.11
—	2.175.13-4
2.131a.8	2.175.15
2.131a.9	2.175.16
—	2.175.18
2.131a.10	2.175.19
2.131a.11	2.175.20
2.131a.12	2.175.21
—	2.175.22-4
2.131a.13	—
—	2.178.27

SSSN	SRHt
2.131a.14	2.175.28
2.131a.15	2.175.29
2.131a.16	2.175.31
—	2.175.32
—	2.175.33*
132. Yāñ-cāpa°	**174. Yāñ-cānindāpa°**
2.132.1	2.174.1
2.132.2	2.174.2
2.132.3	2.174.3
2.132.4	2.174.4
2.132.5	2.174.5
2.132.6	2.174.6
2.132.7	2.174.7
2.132.8 } 2.130.18 }	2.174.8
2.132.9	2.174.9
2.132.10	2.174.10
2.132.11	2.174.11
2.132.12	2.174.12
2.132.13	2.174.13
2.132.14	2.174.14
133. Saṁsargaguṇa° 177	
2.133.1	2.177.1
2.133.2	2.177.2
2.133.3	2.177.3

SSSN	SRHt
2.133.4	2.177.4
2.133.5	2.177.5
2.133.6	2.177.6
2.133.7-8	—
2.133.9	2.177.7
2.133.10	2.177.8
2.133.11	2.177.9
2.133.12	2.177.10
—	2.177.11-2
2.133.13	2.177.13
2.133.14*	2.177.14*
2.133.15*	2.177.15*
134. Saṁsargadoṣapa° 178	
2.134.1	2.178.1
2.134.2	—
2.134.3	2.178.2
2.134.4	2.178.3
2.134.5	2.178.4
—	2.178.5
2.134.6	2.178.6
2.134.7	2.178.8
2.134.8	2.178.9
2.134.9	2.178.10
2.134.10	2.178.7
—	2.178.11*

SSSN	SRHt
135. Sāmā-nyapa°	**163. Sāmā nyanītipa°**
2.135.1	2.163.1
(1.7.1)	2.163.2
2.135.2	2.163.3
2.135.3	2.163.4
2.135.4	2.163.5
2.135.5	2.163.6
2.135.6	2.163.7
2.135.7	2.163.8
2.135.8	2.163.9
2.135.9	2.163.10
2.135.10	2.163.11
—	2.163.12
2.135.11	2.163.13
2.135.12	2.163.14
2.135.13	2.163.15
2.135.14	2.163.16
—	2.163.17
2.135.15	2.163.18
2.135.16	2.163.19
—	2.163.20-1
2.135.17	2.163.22
2.135.18	2.163.23
2.135.19	2.163.24
2.135.20	2.163.25

SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt
2.135.21	2.163.26	2.135.37	2.163.86	—	2.163.126-9
2.135.22	2.163.27	2.135.38	2.163.87	2.135.53	2.163.130
2.135.23	2.163.28	2.135.39	2.163.88	2.135.54	2.163.131
2.135.24	2.163.29	—	2.163.89-93	2.135.55	2.163.132
—	2.163.30-3	2.135.40	2.163.94	2.135.56	2.163.133
2.135.25	2.163.34	—	2.163.95-6	2.135.57	2.163.134
(2.35.87v.l.)	2.163.35	2.135.41	2.163.97	2.135.58	2.163.135
2.135.26	2.163.36	2.135.42	2.163.98	2.135.59	2.163.136
2.135.27	2.163.37	—	2.163.99	2.135.60	2.163.137
2.135.28	2.163.38	2.135.43	2.163.100	—	2.163.138
—	2.163.39	—	2.163.101-4	2.135.61	2.163.139
2.135.29	2.163.40	2.135.44	2.163.105	—	2.163.140
2.135.30	2.163.41	—	2.163.106-9	(2.35.92)	2.163.141
—	2.163.42	2.135.45	2.163.110	—	2.163.142-3
2.135.31	2.163.43	—	2.163.111-2	2.135.62	2.163.144
—	2.163.44-5	2.135.46	2.163.113	—	2.163.145
2.135.32	2.163.46	2.135.47	2.163.114	2.135.63	2.163.146
2.135.33	2.163.47	—	2.163.115	2.135.64	2.163.147
—	2.163.48-53	(1.6.3)	2.163.116	2.165.65	—
(2.35.83)	2.163.54	2.135.48	2.163.117	2.165.66	(2.156.49)
—	2.163.55-80	2.135.49	2.163.118	—	2.163.148-50
2.135.34	2.163.81	—	2.163.119-22	2.165.67	2.163.151
2.135.35	2.163.82	2.135.50	2.163.123	2.165.68	2.163.152
2.135.36	2.163.83	2.135.51	2.163.124	2.165.69	2.163.155
—	2.163.84-5	2.135.52	2.163.125	2.165.70	2.163.153

SSSN	SRHt
—	2.163.154
2.165.71	2.163.156
2.165.72	2.163.157
2.165.73	2.163.158
2.165.74	2.163.159
—	2.163.160
2.165.75	2.163.161
2.165.76	2.163.162
	2.163-5*
136. Anyāpadaśapa°	
2.136.1.94	—
	179. Kṣamāpa°
—	2.179.1-6
(1.18.3)	2.179.7
—	2.179.8-15
	180. Sīlapa°
—	2.180.1-11
137. Saṅkīrṇapa°	181
2.137.1	2.181.1
2.137.2	2.181.2
2.137.3	2.181.3
2.137.4	2.181.4
2.137.5	2.181.5
2.137.6	2.181.6

SSSN	SRHt
2.137.7	2.181.7
2.137.8	2.181.8
2.137.9	2.181.9
—	2.181.10-13
2.137.10	2.181.14
2.135.11	2.181.15
2.137.12	2.181.16
2.137.13	2.181.17
2.137.14	2.181.18
2.137.15	*cd/ab* 2.181.19
—	2.181.20
2.137.16	2.181.21
2.137.17	2.181.22
2.137.18	2.181.23
2.137.19	2.181.24
2.137.20	2.181.25
2.137.21	2.181.26
2.137.22	2.181.27
2.137-23	2.181.28
—	2.181.29
2.137.24 } 1.14.13 }	2.181.30
2.137.25	2.181.31
—	2.181.32
2.137.26	2.181.33
2.137.27	2.181.34

SSSN	SRHt
2.137.28	2.181.35
2.137.29	2.181.36
2.137.30	2.181.37
2.137.31	2.181.38
2.137.32	2.181.39
2.137.33	2.181.40
—	2.181.41
2.137.34	2.181.42
2.137.35	2.181.43
—	2.181.44-5
(2.35.91)	2.181.46
—	2.181.47-8
2.137.36	2.181.49
2.137.37	1.81.50
—	2.181.51
2.137.38	2.181.52
—	2.181.53
2.137.39 } 2.4.32 }	2.181.54
2.137.40	2.181.55
—	2.181.56
2.137.41	2.181.57
—	2.181.58
2.137.42	2.181.59
2.137.43	2.181.60
—	2.181.61

SSSIN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt
2.137.44	2.181.62	2.137.48	2.181.66	—	2.161.69*
2.137.45	2.181.63	2.137.49-52	—	2.137.55*	2.181.70*
2.137.46	2.181.64	2.137.53*	2.181.67*	—	2.181.71-3*
2.137.47	2.181.65	2.137.54*	2.161.68*		

3. Kāmaparva

SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt
Introduction 1-9	—	—	2.114.10	3.7.11	3.184.7
		3.3.10	2.114.11	3.7.12-14	—
1. Purapraśaṁsāpa°		3.3.11	—	3.7.15	3.184.5
1.1-13	—	—	2.114.12-7	—	3.184-6
				3.7.16	—
2. Veśyāpraśaṁsāpa° 113		**4. Samudra-pa°**		3.7.17*	—
3.2.1	2.113.1	3.4.1-9	—	—	3.184.8-10*
3.2.2	2.113.3	**5. Parvatapa°**			
3.2.3	2.113.4	3.5.1-12	—	**8. Malayānilapa°**	
3.2.4	2.113.2	**6. Saritpa°**		3.8.1-5	—
—	2.113.5	3.6.1-5		3.8.6-7*	—
3.2.5	2.113.6		**182. Nāyakapraśaṁsāpa°**	3.8.8	—
3.2.6-8	—				
3.2.9	2.114.6	—	3.182.1-3	**9. Grīṣmapa°**	**185. Gharmapa°**
3. Veśyānindāpa° 114			**183. Nāyikāpraśaṁsāpa°**	—	3.185.1
3.3.1	2.114.1			(3.7.2)	3.185.2
3.3.2	2.114.2		3.183.1-6	3.9.1	3.185.3
3.3.3	2.114.3	(3.15.4)	3.183.7	3.9.2-10	—
3.3.4	2.114.4	—	3.183.8	3.9.11	3.185.4
3.3.5	2.114.5		3.183.9-13*	3.9.12	3.185.5
(3.2.9)	2.174.6	**7. Vasantapa° 184**		3.9.13-8	—
—	2.114.7	3.7.1	—	—	3.185.6*
3.3.6-7	—	3.7.2	(3.185.2)	**10. Prapāpa°**	
3.3.8	2.114.8	3.7.3-10	—	3.10.1-4	—
3.3.9	2.114.9	—	3.184.1-4		

SSSN	SRHt
11. Varṣāpa°	186
3.11.1 (2.121.6)	(2.168.8)
3.11.2	3.186.1
3.11.3	3.186.2
—	3.186.3
3.11.4	3.186.4
3.11.5	3.186.5
3.11.6-13	—
3.11.14	3.186.6
3.11.15-24	—
—	3.186.7
—	3.186.8*
12. Śaratpa*	187
3.12.1-4	—
—	3.187.1
3.12.5	3.187.2
3.12.6-20	—
—	3.187.3-9
—	3.187.10-7*
13. Hemantapa°	
3.13.1-3	—
—	3.188.1-5
—	3.188.6*
14. Śiśirapa°	
3.14.1-5	—
15. Sāmānyapa°	
3.15.1-6	—
16. Pādādivarṇapa°	—
3.16.1-14	
17. Yauvanārambhapa°	
3.17.1	—
18. Udyānapa°	
3.18.1-4	—
19. Puṣpāpacayapa°	
3.19.1-3	—
20. Madhyāhnapa°	
3.20.1-7	—
21. Saritpa°	
3.21.1-2	—
22. Salilakhelanapa°	
3.22.1-4	—
23. Alaṅkarapa°	
3.23.1-3	—
24. Astamayapa°	189
3.24.1-2	—
3.24.3	(3.191.4)
3.24.4-8	—
—	3.189.1-6
—	3.189.7
25. Abhisārikāpa°	
3.25.1-4	—
	190. Sandhyāpa°
—	3.190.1-4
—	3.190.5-6*
	191. Tamaḥpa°
—	3.191.1-3
(3.24.3)	3.191.4
—	3.191.5
—	3.191.6*
26. Candrodayapa°	192
3.26.1-8	—
—	3.192.1-8
—	3.192.9-15*
27. Kalaṅkapa°	
3.27.1-4	—
28. Dūtipa°	
3.28.1-2	—
29. Yānapa°	
3.29.1-3	—
30. Mānapa°	
3.30.1-2	—

SSSN	SRHt
31. Māni-nīvākyapa°	
3.31.1-2	—
31a. Mam-niprāsādapa°	
3.31a,1-2	—
32. Mādhu pānapa°	
3.32.1-14	—
33. Ratāra-mbhapa°	
3.33.1-4	—
34. Ratipa°	
3.34.1-4	—
35. Vipa-rītaratapa -	
3.35.1-6	—
36. Ratika-lahapa°	
3.36.1-4	—
37. Ratya-nunapa°	
3.37.1-2	—
38. Vira-hiṇyavas-thāpa°	
3.38.1-3	—
39. Virahi-nī-ālāpapa°	
3.39.1	—
40. Sakhī-praśnapa	
3.40.1-3	—
41. Saklū-vacanapa°	.
3.41.1-2	
42. Vira-hipralāpapa°	
3.42.1-9	—
43. Prabhātapa°	193
3.43.1-3	—
—	3.193.1
—	3.193.2-3*
44. Mūryo-dayapa°	
3.44.1-3	—
45 Śṛṅgā-rasaṅkaraḥ	
3.45.1-7	—
46. Jatipa°	
3.46.1-7	—
47. Hāsyapa°	
3.47.1-16	—
	194. Sam-bhogaśṛṅ-gārapa°
—	3.194.1
—	3.194.2-7*
	195. Vipra-lambhaśṛṅ-gārapa°
—	3.195.1-14
—	3.195.15-24*

4. Mokṣaparva

SSSN	SRHt
Introduction	
1-2	—
1. **Viṣayanindāpa° 196**	
4.1.1	4.196.1
4.1.2	4.196.2
4.1.3	4.196.3
—	4.196.4-8
4.1.4	4.196.9
—	4.196.10-13
4.1.5	4.196.14
4.1.6	—
—	4.196.15-9
(1.16.2)	4.196.20
4.1.7	4.196.21
—	4.196.22-5
2. **Anitya-tāpa°**	**197. Ani-tyapa°**
—	4.197.1
4.2.1	4.197.2*cd* 4.197.3*ab*
4.2.2	4.197.3*cd* 4.197.3*bis*
—	4.197.4
4.2.3	4.197.5
—	4.197.6-19
4.2.4	4.197.20

SSSN	SRHt
—	4.197.21-4
4.2.5	4.197.25
—	4.197.26-32
4.2.6	4.197.33
—	4.197.34-6
3. **Śokapa° 198**	
4.3.1	4.198.1
—	4.198.2-4
4.3.2-3	—
4.3.4	4.198.5
—	4.198.6-7
4. **Santopa°**	
4.4.1	—
4.4.2	(4.200.1)
5. **Vairāgyapa° 200**	
4.5.1	4.200.1
4.5.2	4.200.6
4.5.3-4	—
(4.4.2)	4.200.1
—	4.200.2-5
—	4.200.7-9
—	4.200.11-32
(2.131.5)	4.200.33
—	4.200.34*

SSSN	SRHt
4. **Tīrtha-sevapa°**	
11. **Jñānapa° 199**	
4.6.1	4.199.1
4.6.2	4.199.5
4.6.3	4.199.7
4.6.4	4.199.4
—	4.199.2-3
—	4.199.6
(4.8.1)	4.199.8
—	4.199.9-10
(4.8.2)	4.199.11
—	4.199.12-5
4.11.1	4.199.16
4.11.2	4.199.17
—	4.199.18
7. **Topapa°**	
4.7.1-3	—
8. **Bhaktipa°**	
4.8.1	(4.199.8)
4.8.2	4.199.11
4.8.3	—
9. **Vivekapa°**	
4.9.1	—

SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt	SSSN	SRHt
10. **Bhāvanāpa°**		—	4.201.2-3	14. **Mohapa°**	
4.10.1-2	—	13. **Stotrapa°**	202	4.14.1-2	—
11. **Jñānapa°**		4.13.1	4.202.1	15. **Saṅkirṇapa°**	
See SSSN 4.6		4.13.2	4.202.2	4.15.1-15	—
12. **Mokṣapa°**	201	4.13.3	—	**Closing**	
4.12.1	4.201.1	—	4.202.3	1	—
4.12.2	—				

ANNEX III. SOURCES OF THE SUBHĀṢITA-S (BEGINNING WITH THE LETTER (अ) INCLUDED IN SSSN.

SSSN	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources	Remarks
1. अकार्यकरणाद्भीतः 70.1 a.n.	MBh (Bh) 5.34,41	SRHt 80.1, SR 380. 134, IS 17	SRHt a. MBh
2. अकालमृत्युविश्वासो 108.6 a.n.	MBh (Bh) 12.81.11	SRHt 134.8	SRHt a. MBh. New readings
3. अकिञ्चिदपि 132.20			See न किंचिदपि
4. अकीर्तिः कीर्त्यते 90.2 a.n.	R(B)7.45.12-3	SRHt 171.2, IS 30	SRHt a. MBh. follows SRHt text.
5. अकृत्रिमप्रेमरसा 221.6 a.n.		Śp′ 3090, VS 1453, SR 251.7	
6. अकृत्वा हेलया 143.16 a. Māgha	Śiś 2.52	SRHt 121.18, SR 78.7, SSB 352.7	SRHt and SSB a. Māgha
7. अक्षमा श्रीपरि० 66.2 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 12.152.5	SRHt 87.4, SR 380.117, IS 53	SRHt a. MBh.
8. अक्षरद्वयमभ्यस्त 163.3 a. Vallabhadeva	Vet 12.4	SRHt 217.3 Parāśara-dharmasaṃhitā 1.1, 178, Vyās 33, SR 156. 133, SRK 226.52, SSB 484.135	SRHt a. Vallabhadeva, Parāśara a. Vyās
9. अक्षराणामकारोऽहम् 92.21 a.n.		VS 2460.Cf. BhG 10.33	VS a. Bhāskarasena

10.	अक्षौहिणी रिपुं 97.3 a.n.		SRHt 93.3	SRHta. MBh
11.	अगजाननपद्मार्कं 1.2 a.n.		SR 2.5. SSB. 3.4, SRK 3.1, SSpr 2	
12.	अगूढविभवा यस्य 50.2 a n.		SRHt 60.2	SRHta. MBh; read in *b* पौरा
13.	अग्निः स्तोको वर्धते 134.9 a. Kāmandaki		SRHt 113.10	SRHta. Kāmandai (not in KN)
14.	अग्निहोत्रफला वेदाः 199.16 a.n.	Cr 9, MBh(Bh) 5.39.51 and 2.5.101, P(PP 2. 150, Pts 2.147, PtsK 2. 154), GP 1.110.4	SRHt 237.21, VS 3428, SR 165. 536, SSB 497. 536, NT 87, IS 71 MBh (Ju) 237, SS(0J)183, TK(0J) 17, NŚ(OJ)1.14	SRHt a. MBh
15.	अग्रच्छाया तृणा॰ 182.51 a. Vallabhadeva		SRHt 198.124	SRHt a. Vallabhadeva
16.	अग्रे व्याधः कुशारकरः 197.89 a.n.		SR 233.112, SSB 628. 17, IS 7618, SRK 181.12	
17.	अग्रे स्त्रीनखपाटलं	Vik 2.8	SRHt 246.7, JS 207.8, And 195.521	SRHt and JS a. Kālidāsa
18.	अघृष्टमिव माणि॰ 52.2 a.n		SRHt 64.2	SRHta. Rājaga (Rājagupta?)
19.	अङ्केऽपि शशाङ्किरे 228.1 a. BhŚ (!?)	BhPr 258	VS 1982, SR 304. 162, SSB 153.173, RJ 1078, Kuv *ad* 26(p. 26)	not found in BhŚ

SSSN	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources	Remarks
20. अङ्कमल्लविनोदेषु 148.11 a.n	Mānasollāsa 2.1235	SRHt.166.11	SRHta. Mānasollāsa
21. अङ्कुरिते पल्लविते 211.14 a. Dhv		SkV 188, Skm (B) 1232, Dhv *ad* 2.50 p. 211	follows with changes Dhv.
22. अङ्गणवेदिर्वसुधा 113.21 a. Bāṇa	Harṣacarita 7.1	SRHt 122.23, ŚP 230, VS 2270, SR 77.7, SSB 350.7, Sama 1 अ 57, VP 1.40, RJ 1428, IS 82, SRK 51.6	SRHt, ŚP, VS, RJ a. Bāṇa
23. अङ्गन्यासैर्विषमैर् 128.6 n.a.		SRHt 141.8	correct to अङ्गन्या°; follows SRHt.
24. अङ्गानि कुङ्कुमरुजः 225.3 n.a.	Amar(S) 92	Sar 618.154, Amd 75.156	new variants
25. अङ्गुल्या कः कवाटं 17.77 a. Kṛṣna°	Kṛṣṇa° 3.105	VS 130, SR 26.191, SSB 42. 102, PG 281, Sama 1 अ 85, SRK 7.19	
26 अचिरेण परस्य 81.74 a. Bhāravi	Kir 2. 9	SRHt 179.96, SR 151.387, SSB 478. 346	SRHt and SSB a. Bhāravi
27. अच्छिन्नमेखलम॰ 7.5 a. Śṛṅgāraprakāśā		SRHt 5.4, Skm (B) 137	SRHt.a. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Skm a. Chittapa or Kṣittapa
28. अचोद्यमानानि यथा 40.5 n.a.	MBh(Bh) 12.174.12 and 13.7.23, Cr 11 GP 1.113.50	SRHt 49.6, VS 3082, SR 91.13, SRK 77.11, IS 92, SSB 374.13 SS(OJ) 360	SRHt.a. Vyāsaśataka SR a.MBh
29. अजन्मा पुरुषस्तावद् 113.14 n.a.	Kir 11.70	SRHt 121.15, SR 149.308, SSB 473.214	SRHt, SR, SSB a. Bhāravi

30. अजितेन्द्रियवर्गस्य 53.6 n.a.		SRHt 71.11	SRHta. Rājaga (Rājagupta)
31. अज्ञातशास्त्र० 99.1 n.a.		SRHt 136.1, SR 44.5, SSB 299.5, SMa 2.90, IS 7622, SRK 84.5	SRK a. Vāgbhaṭṭa
32. अज्ञो जन्तुश्च नीचो० 43.21 n.a.		SRHt 53.34	
33. अञ्जनस्य क्षयं दृष्ट्वा 25.1 n.a.	HJ 2.9, Cr 15, GP 1.113, 8	SRHT 187.2 ŚP650, VS 2684, SR 154. 43, SSB 481.43, Sama 1 अ 46, IS 115 NM(T) 4.2+4,4,ShD(T)28, (SN(P)60)	SRHt and VS a. Vyāsa
34. अञ्जलौ जलमधीर० 225.4 n.a.	Kalaśaka in Suv? 2.14	SR 338.98, SSB 209.40	new readings
35. अणुनापि विश्यारि 77.28 n.a.	KN (Bl) 12.41	SRHt 174.33, IS 102	SRHt a. MBh (not in MBh (Bh).
36. अणुरप्युपहन्ति 106.4 (a. Bhāravi)	Kir 2.51	SRHt 131.5	SRHt a. Bhāravi
37. अतन्द्रितचमूपति० 5.14 n.a.		PG 50, SR 15.24,SSB 24.25	PGHa. Dākṣiṇātya. Correct in c to° परिष्क्रियं
38. अतस्करकरग्राह्य० 183.52 a. Sakalavidyādhara		SRHt 198. 125	SRHt a. Sakalavidyādhara
39. अतस्तु विपरीतस्य 79.53 a. Manu	Mn 7.34	SRHt 176.63	SRHta. MBh.
40. अतिपरिचयादवज्ञा 169. 11 a.P		ŚP 1502, SuM 20.10, SR 169.723, SSB 503. 723, SRRU 945, SRK 239.82, IS 140(Pr. 362), Subh 138, Sama 1 अ 12, and 2 अ 6, Vidy 276, GSL 7, Bahud 139, VP 9.15. Cf. Dvi App. 16	not found in P.

	SSSN	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources	Remarks
41.	अतिमात्रभासुरत्वं 177.12 a. Kālidāsa	Mā¹ 1.13	SRHt 231.10, SR 86.88, SSB 365.9, IS 143	SRHt a. Kālidāsa
42.	अतिमानः श्रियं हन्ति 74.2 n.a.	MBh (Bh) 13.36.17	SRHt 87.2, IS 497	SRHt a. MBh
43.	अतिसाहसमतिदुष्क° 28.10 a. Kalāvilāsa	Kal 1. 46	SRHt 18.16, ŚP 429, SR 72. 38, SSB 342.38. SRK 69.2, IS 157 (Cf. Pr 367)	SRHt and SSB a. Kalāvilāsa or Kṣemendra
44.	अतिसाहसिक : श्रमान् 52.2 n.a.		SRHt 63.33	SRHt a Vīracarita (new readings)
45.	अतीव खलु ते कान्ता 152.1 n.a.	R(Bar)4.20.6	SRHt 167.1	SRHt a. R
46.	अत्यल्पमपि साधूनां 189.3 n.a.	Cr 385 *cd/ab*	SRHt 236.6, Vyās 13, IS 7524, SuB 11.10, Saśā 176.185. (most *cd/ab*) ShD(T) 243, Vyās (C) 17, Vyās (T) 17	SRHt a. Vyāsaśataka
47.	अत्यायासेन नात्मानं 166.14 n.a.		SRHt 145.15	SRHt a. Saṅgraha
48	अत्यार्यमतिदातारम् 163.2 a. Vallabhadeva	MBh (Bh) 5.39.50	SRHt 205.2, SR 62.5, IS 174, SSB 327.5, VS 2646	SRHt a. Vallabhadeva, Read together with next in MBh and in SSSN correct in *c* to चैव 2.279
49.	अत्युच्चाः परितः स्फु० 91.16 n.a.	VCjr IX 4 (p. 236)	Kpr 5.118, KāP 136.5-8, KāD ***ad*** 2.279 Amd 126.294, Kuv *ad* 171(184), SRHt 170.9, Skm(B) 1407, JS 336.10 and 230, SR 110.232, SSB 404.250	JS a. Śrīhanūmata; SRHt a. Sar; SR a. Kuv; SSB a. Kpr.

50. अत्युन्नतिव्यसनिनः 151.17 a. Bhallaṭa	Bhallaṭaśataka 17	SRHt 128.18, VS 677	SRHt a. Bhallaṭa
51. अथ प्रसन्नेन्दुमुखी 219.18 a. VS 1818		VS 1818, ŚP 3902, SR 344.13	ŚP and VS a. Māhamanuṣya
52. अथ राज्ञादरः 149.3 a. MBh		SRHt 126.3	SRHt a. MBh, but does not appear in MBh (Bh)
53. अथर्वविधितत्त्वज्ञैर 149.14 n.a.	Mānasollāsa 2.1238	SRHt 167.146.	SRHt a. Mānasollāsa
54. अदण्ड्यान् दण्डयन् 53.13 a. Manu	Mn. 8.128	SRHt 65.15, VR 1825	SRHt a. Manu
55. अदाक्षिण्यादतीवोग्राः 37.17 n.a.		SSKR 4.6 (KSSKP 4.6)	
56. अदाता ह्यनभिस्नेहो 74.2 n.a.		Cf. SRHt 83.1	
57. अदीर्घदर्शिभिर 39.4 n.a.		SRHt 49.3, VS 3360	SRHt.a. Vyāsaśataka (follows SRHt and not VS)
58. अदृष्टपूर्वमस्माभिः 216.16 n.a.		VS 172.9.ŚP 3896, SR 346.97, SSB 217.1 (Cf. Kuv 37.85)	
59. अदृष्टसुखयज्ञस्य 175.1 n.a.		SRHt 221.1, VS 503, SR 73.8, SSB 343.8, SMa 2.43	SRHt a. Suvarṇadeva
60, अदेशस्थो बहुरिपु० 119.4 a	KN (sec) बालो	SRHt 154.4	See बालो
61. अद्यापि तन्मनसि सं० 236. 6 a. Bilhaṇa	Caur (POS) 11, Caur (KM)79, Caur (A) 73	ŚP 3470, VS 1378, Pad 45.18, SR 178.412, SSB 107.46	ŚP, VS, Pad a Bilhaṇa

SSSN	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources	Remarks
62. अद्यापि नोज्झति हरः 247.3 a.n.	Caur (Pos)50, Caur (KM) 124, Cr 38, BhŚ 202, Śts 7.7-10, VCsr 24.10	ŚP 246, SuM 9.41, SR 50.200 SSB 308. 205, SRK 17.60, Pras 17.7, IS 203, Subh 187, NBh 134, Bahudarśana 33, SK 6.87, Su 1442, SGo f. 206, SL f. 29a, SSD 2f. 99a, SSV 386, SKG f.17b, JSub 175.5	
63 अद्यैव श्वः परश्वस्त्रि° 162.18 a. Bhnllaṭa		SRHt 219.23	SRHt a. Bhallaṭa (not in the Bhallaṭa-śataka)
64. अधनेनार्थकामेन 135.6 a. MBh	MBh(Bh) 12.8.20, R (G) 6.62, 35, R (R) 6.83.38	SRHt 2038,IS 212	SRHt a. MBh
65. अधमा धनमिच्छन्ति 155.3 a. Pratāpacakravartī	Cr 42, GP 1.115.13	SRHt 209.4, SuM 28.1, ŚKDr *ad* मानः, IS 216, Subh 228 and 298, SuB 11.24, TP 386 *cd/ab*, GSL 9, Same 1 अ 81 and 2 म 27, SSpr. 15	SRHt a. Pratāpacakravartī
66. अधरामृतेन पित्तं 240.11 a.n.	BhŚ 362	VS 2340, SLP 2.20, SH (part II) fol. 2(13)	
67. अधर्मः क्षत्रियस्यैतद् 147. 22 a.n.		SRHt 165,22	SRHt a. MBh. (not found in MBh (Bh))
68. अधर्मेणैध ते तावत् 26.1 a.R	Mn 4. 174, MBh (Bh) 3.92.4	SRHt 13.1, Daṁpaliś 22, IS 220, ŚKDr *ad* अधर्मः; BrDh 2.16.3 SSap 407	SRHt a. R, ŚKDr a. MBh, SSap a. Mn. (Not found in R).
69. अध्वा जरा मनु° 199.23 a.n.	Cr 46, Śto 341.19-20	SRHt 238.28, SRK 23.43, IS 237, Sama 1 अ 80 and 2 अ 23, NBh 158	SRHt a. MBh (not found in MBh (Bh)).

70. अनभ्यासे विषं 193.4 a. Daṇḍanīti	See दुरधीत विषं	SRHt 236.4	SRHt a. Daṇḍanīti
71. अनभ्यासेन वेदानाम् 25.3 a.n.	Mn 5.4	PSDh 2.1; 9. 14-5	
72. अनर्थमर्थतः पश्यन् 60.7 a.n.	MBh (Bh) 5.34.59	SRHt 73.10, BrDh 2.10.7(87), IS 254, SR 381.156	SRHt a. KN(not found there); SR a. MBh
73. अनर्थे चैव निरतम् 72.2 a.n.	MBh (Bh)5.(187*)+5.38 20*cd*	SRHt 84.2	
74. अनागतविधाता च 46.1 a.n.	P(PT I.128, PTem 1.117, PS 1.118, PN 2.95, PP 1.321. Pts 1.318, PtsK 1.361 & 367, PRE 1.127, PD 308.118, PM 1.133, PTu 1.42), HJ 4.5, MBh (Bh)*ad* 12.135·1 (307*)	SRHt 56.1, IS 268, Sama 1 अ 105 Old Syriac 1.47, Tantri (0J) 74	SRHt (a. Vallabhadeva)
75. अनात्मवान् नयद्वेषी 53.6 a. Kāmanudaka	KN 5.4	SRHt 64.4, SR 381.161, IS 273	SRHt a. KN
76. अनाथान् रोगिणो यश्च 98.2 a.n.		SRHt 135.4	SRHt a. Saṅgraha
77. अनादरभृतां सेवां 180.21 a. Mammata		SRHt 189.26	SRHt a. Kpr (but not found there)
78. अनारतं तेन पदेषु 81.70 a. Bhāravi	Kir 1.15	SRHt 179.92	SRHt a. Bhāravi
79. अनार्यवृत्तमप्राज्ञम् 73.1 a.n.	MBh(Bh)5.38,32	SRHt 84.1, SR 381.170, IS 282	SRHt. a. MBh
80. अनालोच्य प्रेम्णः प° 236.2 a.n.	Amar (S) 84	Skm(B) 681, SkV 659, Kav 372, VS 1170, PG 229, JS 197.7, SR 308.14, SSB 159.14, ŚB 4.414, IS 283	Skm and PG a. Amaru; SkV, Kav and JS a. Vikaṭanitambā or Vākuṭa.

SSSN	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources	Remarks
81. अनाहूतः संप्रविशति 33.2 a. MBh	MBh(Bh)5.33.35	SRHt 28.2, IS 287. MBh (Ju)p. 329	SRHt a. MBh
82. अनीतिकोविदं हिंस्र 113.8a + 113.9		SRHt 102.8	SRHt. a. MBh
83. अनुकुरुतः खलसुजनाव् 239.4 a. Sundarapāṇḍya	Dvi App. 30	SRHt 239.42, ŚP 239, JS 53.11, SkV 1218, SR 47.112, SSB 305.114, SRK 14. 35, SH fol. 60a (597), SSg 215, SRRU 884, IS 311. Rav (T) 9	SRHt a. Sundara-pāṇḍya; ŚP,JS SSB, SRRU, SkV and SH a. Gobhaṭṭa
84. अनुगन्तुं सतां वर्त्म 179.1 a.n.		SRHt 187.1, ŚP 1420, VS 2641, SR 153.1, SSB 480. 1, SSH 1.75, SRRU 858, SMa 1.26, IS 314 SS(OJ)317	SRHt a; Vyāsa. (Follows the SRHt text)
85. अनुत्थानाद् भवेन्नाशः 124.13 a. MBh	K(K)1.19.36	SRHt 159.13, SSap 371	SRHt a. MBh (not found in MBh (Bh). (Pollows the SRHt text)
86. अनुयातोऽनेकजनैः 130.5 a.n.		SR 151.375, SSB 477. 334, SRK 247.49. IS 7638	New readings
87. अनुयुक्तो दस्युवधे 80.57 a.n.		SRHt 177.72	SRHt a, MBh (Not found in MBh (Bh)).
88. अनुरक्तेन दृष्टेन 80.55 a.n.	MBh(Bh)12.129.11	SRHt 177.66	SRHt a. Bhāravi. (but not found Kit). (Follows the SRHt text).

89. अनृतं च समुत्कर्षे 180.23 a. Manu	Mn 11.56, MBh (Bh) 5.40.3	SRHt 189.28, IS 329, Pr 362 MBh (Ju) p. 238 *ef/gh*	SRHt a. Manu
90. अन्तःसरोऽपि निर्याति 176.10 a.n.		SRHt 176.10	SRHt a. Sundarapaṇḍya
91. अन्तकः पवनो मृत्युः 76.12 a.Manu	MBh (Bh) 13.38.29	SRHt 79.9, IS 338. SS (OJ) 432, NM (T) 4.14	SRHt a. Manu, but not found there. (Follows the SRHt text)
92. अन्तरङ्गा हि ये राज्ञः 103.5 a. Kāmandaki		SRHt 130.3	SRHt a. Kāmardaki, but is not found there
93. अन्तश्छिद्राणि भूयांसि 191.42 a. Bhallaṭa	Bhallaṭaśataka 23	SRHt 43.47, Sāh *ad* 10.706, AR 138. 3-4, Kuv *ad* 27.66, ŚP 1142, VS 921, JS 105.1, SR 243.208, SSB 647.4 SRK 199.10, IS 348. SSH 2.56, Any 124.135	SRHt, VS, JS, SSB. a, Bhallaṭa
94. अन्धीकरोमि भुवनं 65.15 a. Prab	Prab 2.28 (or 2.29)	SRHt 83.15, SuM 27.1	SRHt a. Prab
95. अन्नपानं विषाद्रक्षेत् 182.9 a.n.		SRHt 182.9	SRHt a. Saṅgraha
96. अन्नपानानि जीर्यन्ते 43.14 a. MBh	MBh (Bh) 12.318.24	SRHt 52.17	SRHt a. MBh
97. अन्ने पाने च ताम्बूले 148.4 a.n.		SRHt 166.4	SRHt a. Mānasollāsa but not found there
98. अन्यत्र भीष्माद् गाङ्गेयाद् 242. 2 a.n.		SRHt 259.2, NBh 62, SR 371.121, SSB 268.7	SRHt a. MBh, but not found in MBh (Bh)
99. अन्यथा वेदपाण्डित्यं 247.2 a.n.	Cr. 66		New readings

SSSN	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources	Remarks
100. अन्यथा शास्त्रगर्भिण्या 40.12 a.n.	Cr 1157 = GP 1.113, 29, P(PP 2.157)	SRHt 49.12, VS 3088	SRHt a. Viṣṇupurāṇa
101. अन्यायोपार्जितं द्रव्यम् 72.6 a.n.		SRHt 85.12	SRHt a. MBh, but not found in MBh (Bh)
102. अन्योन्यकृतवैराणां 123.5 a. MBh	*a* only in MBh (Bh) 12. 137, 27 and 37	SRHt 155.6	SRHt a. MBh, b ut not found in MBh (Bh)
103. अपकारिणि कोपश्चेत् 46.10 a. Sundara-pāṇḍya	Dvi App. 18.3	SRHt 82.10	SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya
104. अपकार्यात् समस्तं 77.18 a.n	K(K) 7.18.40	SRHt 173.21	Fills in lacuma
105. अपकृत्वा बुद्धिमतो 114.2 a.n.	MBh (Bh) 5.38.5	SRHt 104.2, SR 381.175,IS 393	SRHt a. MBh
106. अपथ्यस्य च भुक्तस्य 112.3 a.n.		SRHt 102.3	SRHt a. P (but not found in P)
107. अपनेयमुदेतुम् 64.14 a. Bhāravi	Kir 2.36	SRHt 83.14, IS 399, Subh 105	SRHt a. Bhāravi
108. अपराधसहस्रभाजनं 247.1 a.n.		SRHt 271.1	
109. अपराधो न मेऽस्तीति 104.14 a.H	P(PT 2.30, PTem 2.30, PS 2.20, PN 1.18, PRE 2.20, HJ 1.77	SRHt 135.17, VS 2737,SR 163.447,SSB 494.447, IS 404, GSL 15, Sama 1 अ 33,	SRHt a. P
110. अप्रशास्त्रधनो राजा 80.58 a. MBh	MBh(Bh)12.72.14	SRHt 178.77	SRHt a. MBh

111.	अपश्चात्तापकृत् सम्यग् 115.2 a.n.	KN(ĀnSS)12.35	SRHt 105.2	SRHt a. Kauṭilya but not found there. New readings
112.	अपहृत्य परस्यार्थं 181.27 a.n.	Cr. 69, GP 1.114.67	SRHt 190.37, VS 2978	SRHt a. MBh but not found there.
113.	अपां प्रवाहो गाङ्गोऽपि 178.5 Pratāparudra	KN 5.8	SRHt 232.4, SR 382.203, IS 414	SRHt and SR a. KN. In SRHt next verse a. Pratāparudra, In SSSN mistakenly a. Pra.
114.	अपां मूले लीनं 213.3 a.n.		Skm (B) 1267, SkV 201, ŚB 3.166	New readings,
115	अपात्रे रमते नारी 200.30 a.n.	Cr 70	SRHt 239.37	SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya
116.	अपि पञ्चशतं दण्ड्यान् 129.3 a. Manu		SRHt 150.3	SRHt a. Manu, but not found there
117.	अपि स्थाणुवदासीत 168.1 a. Kāmandaka	KN 5.3, Pts 1.49, PtsK. 1.55	SRHt 147.1, SR 148.258, SSB 472.164, IS 437	SRHt a. Kāmendaka. Follows the SRHt text
118.	अपीतक्षीबकादम्बम् 218.5 a.n.	KāD 2.200	SRHt 249.2, Sar 3.13, Kuv *ad* 34.77, SR 344.2, SSB 219.4, IS 442	SRHt a. Viṣṇupurāṇa. SR a. KāD. Follows the SRHt. text.
119.	अपूर्वदेशाधिगमे 76.13 a.n.	K(K)2.36, 47	SRHt 173.19	Fills in lacuna
120.	अपूर्वेयं धनुर्विद्या 91.10 a.n.	BhPr 311, PrK 47, VCjr VII 5 (p. 234)	VS 2455, SkV 1421, NBh 164, SSg 226, SR 102.15, SSB 391.19, Vidy 803	VS,SSB, Vidy a. Amṛtadatta ; SkV a. Vīryamitra.

	SSSN	Primary sources	Secondary Sources	Remarks
121.	अपृष्टेन तु वक्तव्यं 111.19 a.n.		SRHt 100.20	SRHt. a Saṅgraha
122.	अप्यन्विष्य न लभ्यन्ते 203.3 a.n.		SRHt 139.3	SRHt a. Bṛhatkathā
123.	अप्युन्मत्तात्प्रलपतो 180.19 a. MBh	MBh(Bh) 5.33.31, P (PT 2.144, PTem 2.126)	SRHt 189.24, VS 2714, SR 382, 211, IS 459	SRHta nd SR a. MBh
124.	अप्येव दहनं स्पृष्ट्वा 167.24 a. R		SRHt 146.25	SRHt a. R, but not found in R(B). New readings.
125.	अप्राज्ञेन च कातरेण 106.6 a. Mudr	Mudr 1.15, Śts 138.10--4, PD 300.17	SRHt 132.7, JS 409.61, SR 139.9, SSB 454.9	SRHt and JS. a. Mudr. Follows in *a* the SRHt text.
126.	अप्राप्तकालं वचनं 168.31 a. MBh	MBh(Bh) 5.39,2, P(PT 1.22, PTem 1.19, PS 1.28, PN 2.19, PP 1.23, Pts 1,63, PRE 1.24, PM 1.27), HJ 2.61, Cr 1168	SRHt 146.33, VS 2789, SR 146.139, SSB 467.26, SSH 1.67, SRRU 847, IS 468	SRHt a. MBh; VS, SSB and SRRU a. Vyāsa. New readings
127.	अप्रार्थितानि दुःखानि 42.10 a.n.	P(PT 2.121, PTem 2.110) HJ 1.177, Cṛ 73, GP 1.114. 52	SRHt 52.13, ŚP 313, SR 75.5 and 91.17, SSB 374.17, Sama 1 अ 40, VS 2661, SRK 53.7. IS 89 (Pr 362)	SRHt a. Rudra; SSB a. Vyāsa. Follows the SRHt text.
128.	अप्रियं यस्य कुर्वीत 89.3 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 29.94.8	SRHt 186.4	SRHt a. MBh. New readings.
129.	अप्रियमुक्ताः पुरुषाः 283.54 a.n.	Dvi 7	SRHt 198.131	SRHt a. Sundara-pāṇḍya

130.	अप्रियस्यापि पथ्यस्य (वचसः) 110.12 a. P and 83.88.	P(PT 1.74, PTem 1.67, PS 1.67, PN 2.50, PP 1.235, PRE 1.75, PD 303.64) HJ 2.134; cf. KSS 10.60.121	SRHt 99.13, Sama 1अ69, SR 164. 487, SSSB 496.487. Cf. Nālaḍiyār 225	SRHt a, P, SR a. H. SSSN 110.12 follows H. SSSN 83.88 follows P and SRHt
131.	अब्धी रत्नमधो धत्तां 186.11 a.n.	P(PS 1.36)	NBh 139	New readings
132.	अभिद्रोहेण भूतानाम् 182.47 a. Bhāravi	Kir 11.21	SRHt 197.114, JS 404.19, SR 161. 364, SSB 492.371, SuM 23.16	SRHt, JS and SSB a Bhāravi. Follows the SRHt text
133.	अभिप्रायं यो विदित्वा 138.8 a.n.	MBh (Bh) 5.37.23	SRHt 116.8, SR 382.218, IS 490	SRHh a. MBh. Cf. SSSN 107.5. Follows the SRHt text
134.	अभिमानधनस्य 151.13 a. Bhāravi	Kir 2.19	SRHt 127.14, JS 56.9, SR 80.31, SSB 354.34, SRRU 560	SRHt, JS and SSB a. Bhāravi
135.	अभिमानवतो मन° 157.15 a. Bhāravi	Kir 2.13	SRHt 128.16, JS 56.8, SR 151.391, SSB 478.350	SRHt, JS and SSB a. Bhāravi
136.	अभियुक्तं बलवता 181.26 a.n.	MBh(Bh)5.33.13	SRHt 190.36, SR 382. 224, IS 500. MBh (Ju) p. 227 *ab/cd*	SRHt and SR a. MBh
137.	अभेद्योऽनुद्धतः स्तब्धः 99.6 a.n.		SRHt 135.2	SRHt a. Sasiṅgraha
138.	अभ्यासरहिता विद्या 205.1 a.n.	Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī 2.89	SRHt 139.1	SRHt a. Bṛhat.° Follows the SRHt text
139	अत्युच्छ्रिते मन्त्रिणि 113.16 a.n.	P(PT 1.64, PTem 15.7, PS 1.56, PN 2.41, PP 1.24, PRE 1.65), HJ 2.126, Mudr 4.13 (Cf. KSS 10.60.117-8)	SRHt 103.16, SR 151.378, SSB 477. 337, Sama 1अ67, IS 178. Old Syriac 1.45-6	SRHt a. P; SR a. H. Follows the SRHt text

	SSSN	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources	Remarks
140.	अभ्युपयुक्ताः सद्भिर् 161.11 a.P		SRHt 118.17, VS 481, SR 72.44, SSB 342.47, JS 62.18	SRHt a. P; JS a. Vallabhadeva. New readings
141.	अभ्रच्छाया तृणाग्निश्च 182.51 a. Vailabhadeva	Cr. 1177, GP 1.115.35	SR 160.324, SSB 491.331, IS 516	New readings
142.	अमात्यः शूर एव स्याद् 87.4 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 12.107.12	SRHt 184.4	SRHt a. MBh. Follows the SRHt text
143.	अमात्यो युवराजश्च 118.3 a.n.	KN(ĀnSS) 18.28	SRHt 152.3	
144.	अमित्रं नैव मुञ्चेत 147.25 a.n.	MBh(Bh)12.138.52, P(PT 3.75, PTem 3.64)	SRHt 165.25, SR 382.30, IS 520	SRHt and SR a. MBh
145.	अमित्रमपि चेच्चैनं 154.6 a.n	MBh(Bh) 13.58.10	SRHt 168.6 SS (OJ) 173	SRHt a. R, but not found in R(B)
146.	अमी पृथुस्तम्बभृतः 219.16 a. Bhāravi	Kir 4.26	SR 344.22, SSB 220.29, Su Muñ 159.3-6	SSB and SuMuñ a. Bhāravi
147.	अमृतममृतं चन्द्रश् 221.4 a. VS		SRHt 245.7, VS 1466, ŚP 3519, SR 273.18, SSB 99.18, JS 168.15, Sar 2.229, Amd 214.565	SRHt a. Sar;VS and JS a. Rājaputravijayapāta. Follows the VS text
148.	अम्बा कुप्यति न मया 172.13 a.n.	BhPr 309, PrC 103, PuPra 371	SRHt 229.16, VS 3185, Skm (B) 2231, SuM 7.19, SSS 24, SR 66.34, SRK 57.18, ŚP 411, Sar 4.194, IS 540, SSB 333.35, Subh 74.	SRHt a. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, BhPr a. Kālidāsa, VS and SSB a. BhaṭṭaKapardina. Follows the SRHt text

149. अम्भसा भिद्यते सेतुस् 115.5 a.n.	P(PT 1.50, PTem 1.43, PS 1.44, PN 2.32, PP 1.76, Pts 1.102, PtsK 1. 115, PRE 1.51), HJ 2.88, (cf. KSS 10.60.54)	SRHt 105.5, SR 164.502, SSB 496.502, IS 541, VP 9.9. Old Arabic 1.36	SRHt and SR a.P
150. अभ्योजिनीवननिवा° 194.72 a.n.	BhŚ 38	ŚP 797, JS 74.2, SR 221.15, SSB 608.24, SRK 183.2, RJ 390, IS 544, Vidy 22, Any 54.26, SLPr 41.1-4	ŚP, SR, SSB and SRK a. BhŚ
151. अयं ते विद्रुमच्छायो 222.11 a.n.		SkV 492, Kav 240, Skm (B) 833, AB 550, PV 222, SR 387.391, Prasanna 121*a*, ŚB 1.191 and 3.18, IS 1470, Sar 5.90 *cd/ab*, Kuv *ad* 100.167, AA 41.14-5	SkV and Kav a. Daṇḍin. Follows the Sar. tezt
152. अयं बन्धुः परो वेति 158.1 a.n.	Pts 5.38, HJ 1.72, BhŚ 376, VC (VCsr 3.1, VCjr 17.4) Cr 1180	SRHt 209.6, ŚP 273, VS 498, SkV 1241, Skm (B) 2172, Pad 110.31, SR 70.9, SSB 339.9, SRK 50.1, VP 1.4, Vidy 356, IS 550, RJ 1433, SL 21, SRRU 76, Sama 1 अ 30 and 2 उ 4, Sa 16.13, ST 5.5 Ślokasaṃgraha 1484, SGo 156, SSV 443, SSD f. 106 *b*, SSV 443	SRHt a. Udātta; VS a. Bhaṭṭodbhata
153. अयं वारामेको निलय 191.42 a. Bhallaṭaśataka	Bhallaṭaśataka 108	Kpr 10.490, AR 155.10-3, KāP 356.7-10, Kuv 36.84, ŚP 1091, SkV 1025, Prasanna 68 *b*, Skm (B) 1683, JS 97.18, Vidy 203. Any 98, 43,AAS 12.5, RJ 259, SuMuñ 244.5-9, IS 546, SR 216.23, SSB 599.22, SK 3. 234, SGo 32*a*, JSu 291.5	SR a. Bhalla°; ŚP and SSB Mahavarudra; SkV a. Kavinanda (Prasanna a. Kālidāsa; Skm and Vidy a. Vidyāpati) JS a. Vararuci.

SSSN	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources	Remarks
154. अयं स कालः संप्राप्तो 158.1 a. MBh	*a* only in MBh(Bh)1.48. 24; 1.49.15; 5.70.2; 6.55. 41; 6.75.3; 6.103, 31; 7. 133.2;9.5, 23; 13 App. 15.17	SRHt 220.1	SRHta.MBh
155. अयं स रशनोत्कर्षी 153.8 a.n.	MBh (Bh) 11.24.17	SRHt 167.9, Kpr 5.116 and 7.336, Amd 126.292 and 184. 489, AA 43.10-1, Kuv *ad* 101	SRHt a. R, but does not appear in R(B).
156. अयाच्यं चैव याचन्ते 73.3 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 12.56.56 *cd*+ 12.56.51 *cd*	SRHt 88.3	SRHta. MBh
157. अयुक्तचारं दुर्दर्शम् 53.10 a.n.	R(Bar) 3,31.5	SRHt 65.16	SRHt a.R
158. अयुक्तं बहु भाषन्ते 70.2 a.n.	MBh(Bh)13.App.15 l. 2859-60	SRHt 80.3, SR 100.4, SSB 388. 4, Pras 28.9, IS 565, SRS 2.1.55	SRHt a. MBh
159. अरक्षितं तिष्ठति दैवरक्षितं 45.41 a.n.	P(Pts 1.20 and 3.23: 5.44, PtsK 1.24), HJ 2.16, BhŚ 378, VCsr 14.9	SRHt 56.55, ŚP 446, *ad* N 1. 48, SR 91.47, SSB 375.54, SRK 72.26, Sama 1अ47, SS 23.16, SSD 4f. 2*b*, SKG f. 18*b*, IS 567	SRHt a. Itikāsa, *ad* N a. Bhṛgu Bhārgava; SSB a. Śri-Bhāgavata
160. अरण्यरुदितं कृतं शव० 170.18 a. BhŚ	P(PT 1.105, PTem 1.97, PS 1.92, PN 2.71, PtsK 1.255, PD 206.93, PRE 1.104), *ad* HJ 2.162, BhŚ 380, Cr 1182	SRHt 149.20, Skm(B) 2218, SuM 10. 20, VS 448, SR 40.55, SSB 294.55, SRK 37.25, IS 570 (ZDMG 61.354), VP 8.10, GSL 22, AR 100.11-4, AIR 126, Kuv *ad* 19.53	VS and SSB a. BhŚ; Skm a. Silhaṇa; SR a. P; SRK a. Kuv.

161. अराजकेषु दुष्टेषु 55.2 a. Mn		SRHt 69.2	SRHt a. Manu but does not appear in MnJh
162. अरिषड्वर्ग एवायम् 59.20 a.n.	Anar 6.9	JS 405.24	JS a. Murāri
163. अर्घ्यं दत्त्वा स देवाय 83.2 a.n.		SRHt 182.3	SRHt a. Saṅgraha
164. अर्थं सप्रतिबन्धं 111.23 a. Māl	Māl 1.9	SRHt 100.24, SR 151.367, SSB 477. 326, Almm 54, SSap 512, IS 6832	SRHt a. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa; SR a. Māl.
165. अर्थत्यागोऽपि कार्यः स्याद् 76.5 a. MBh	MBh(Bh) 3.34.63	SRHt 172.5	SRHt a. MBh
166. अर्थस्य दूषणार्थं हि 73.5 a.n.		SRHt 85.5	See दूष्यस्य दूषणार्थं
167. अर्थस्य पुरुषो दासो 135.3 a. MBh	MBh(Bh) 6.41.36; 51, 66, 77, GhN 4	SRHt 202.3, ŚKDr *ad* महाराज; TP 377, IS 593, Sama 2 अ 11	SRHt and ŚKDr a. MBh. Follows the SRHt text
168. अर्थांस्त्यजत पात्रेयः 147.27 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 5.58.20	SRHt 165.27 SS(OJ)277	SRHt a. MBh
169. अर्था गृहे विवर्तन्ते 39.4 a. MBh	*d* in MBh (Bh) 12.174.9*b*	SRHt 49.2, IS 601, NT71, Subh 86, TP 377, SMa 1.39, Vyās 7. Ślt (OJ) 10, NŚ(OJ)3.2, Vyās (C) 7, Vyās (S) 7	SRHt a. MBh but does not appear in MBh(Bh)
170. अर्थानर्थान्तरे बुद्धिर् 121.2 a. R	R(Bar) 5.2.38 and 5. 28.38	SRHt 157.2, Sama 2अ43	SRHt a. R
171. अर्थानाममनुष्ठाता 72.1 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 12.93.7	SRHt 84.1	SRHt a. MBh
172. अर्थानामार्जनं कार्यं 134.5 a. MBh		SRHt 113.6, VS 2815, SR 167.641, SSB 501.641	SRHt a. MBh; SSB a. Vyāsa. Not found in MBh (Bh)

	SSSN	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources	Remarks
173.	अर्थानामर्जने दु:खम् 136.1 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 13.App. 15I. 3971-2, P(PP 1.123,Pts 1.163 and 2.118, PtsK 1.179 and 2.126), Cr 1187	SRHt 203.1, VS 3353, SMa 2.54, Subh 134, NT 38, TP 378 SS(OJ) 467	SRHt a. MBh
174.	अर्थानामीश्वरो यः स्याद् 59.3 a. MBh	MBh(Bh) 5.34.61	SRHt 72.6	SRHt a. MBh
175.	अर्थार्थी जीवलोकोऽयं 135.4 a. Kāmandaka	KN (ĀnSS) 5.62	SRHt 202.4, IS 609	SRHt a. KN
176.	अर्थिनां कृपणा दृष्टिस 90.5 a.n.	KāD 1.77, PD 310.151	SRHt 169.5, ŚP 275, Pad 110.32, RJ 1434, SR 103.53, SSB 393. 60, IS 610, Can *ad* 4.9	SRHt, ŚP, Pad, RJ and SSB a. Daṇḍin
177.	अर्थोपचयविज्ञानम् 135.5 a.n.		SRHt 203.7	SRHt a. MBh
178.	अलंकरोति हि जरा 199.17 a. SR	Hemavijaya's Śrīkathāratnākara 52.7	SRHt 238.22, SuM 9.32, SR 95.1, SSB 381.3, IS 628, Subh 93 and 288	SRHt a. MBh, but not found in MBh (Bh)
179.	अलंकारः शङ्काकर° 46.4 a. Ruyyaka		SRHt 57.6, AR 198.36, Kpr 9.369, Amd 221.588 and 315.911, Kāvyān 13. 16-8, SkV 1344, JS 414. 12,SR 93.94, SSB 378. 103, ASS 10.5, JSub 93.94	SRHt a. AR; SR and SSB a. Kpr.
180.	अलक्ष्मीर्न क्षीणा 170.16 a.n.		SRHt 149.18	
181.	अलभ्यलाभाय च लo 98.5 a.n.		SRHt 98.5	SRHt a. MBh but not found in MBh (Bh)

182. अलसं दुर्मुखं स्तब्धं 107.2 a.n.	Cr 94, Śto 321.28	SRHt 132.2, ŚP 1329, IS 639, Subh 192	SRHt a. MBh, but not found in MBh (Bh). Follows the SRHt text
183. अलिरनुसरति परिमलं 44.33 a.n.		SRHt 55.47, SR 170.750, SSB 504. 750, SRK 250.92, IS 7691, GSL 26	
184. अवज्ञानाद्राज्ञो भवति 55.33 a.n.	P(PT 1.49, PS 1.43, PN 2.31, PRE 1.50), HJ 2.76, BhŚ 385	SR 152.412, SSB 479.371, IS 658, JS 410.65, Sama 1 अ 62	
18ã. अवमन्यन्ति भर्तृ 73.2 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 12.56.49*ab* + 12.56.50*ab*	SRHt 87.2	SRHt a. MBh
186. अविजित्य य आत्मानम् 73.9 a.n.	MBh (Bh) 5.34.54 and 5.127.27	SRHt 73.9, IS 678,	SRHt a. Kāmandaki
187. अविद्यः पुरुषः शोच्यः 237.19 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 5.39.62, Vet. 11.12, Cr 98	SRHt 237.19, IS 684, SR 162.388, SSB 493.395, VP 9.95	SRHt a. MBh
188. अविद्यो वा सविद्यो 23.9 a.n.	Mn 9.137	SRHt 7.14, IS 686, VīrR 157.21-2	SRHt a. Manu Follows the SRHt text
189. अविधेये जने पुंसां 64.6 a. Vallabhadeva		SRHt 82.6	SRHt a. Vallabhadeva
190. अविधेयो भृत्यजनः 183.59 a.n.	Dvi App. 22	SRHt 199.136, VS 2850, ŚP 1531, SR 169.725, SSB 503.725	SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya; VS a. Revigupta
191. अविनयरतमादराद्दृते 61.1 a. KN	KN(ĀnSS) 1.71	SRHt 74.1, IS 689	SRHt a. Kirāta

	SSSN	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources	Remarks
192.	अविसृष्टोऽपि सन् प्राज्ञः 166.5 a. Kavivallabha		SRHt 144.6	SRHt a. Kavivallabha. New readings
193.	अव्यवसायिनमलसं 54.21 a.n.	P(PT 2.97, PTem 2.86, PS 2.60, PN 1. 56, PP 2.115, PRE 2.61, PM 2.41), HJ 2.4.	SRHt 67.32, VS 2848, SR 62.11, SSB 327.11, IS 706, SRK 89.6. Old Arabic 3.162	SRHt a. Rāja; VS a. Ravigupta; SR a. H. Follows the SRHt text
194.	अशक्नुवंश्च युद्धाय 126.10 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 15·11.18-9	SRHt 162.11-2	SRHt a. MBh
195.	अशङ्क्यमपि शङ्केत 108.8 a.P.	MBh(Bh) 12.138.45 (cf. MBh(Bh) 1. App I.81 l. 123-4	SRHt 134.10,IS 715	SRHt a. P but not found there. Follows the SRHt text in *a* but not in *b* where it follows the MBh text.
196.	अश्मना साधयेल्लोहं 79.44 a.n.		SRHt 176.53	SRHt a. MBh but not found in MBh (Bh)
197.	अश्वः शस्त्रं शास्त्रं 32.6 a. Kalāvilāsa	P(PT 1.43, PTem 1.39, PS 1.38, PN 2.38,PP 1.69 and 84, Pts 1.110, PtsK 1.124, PRE 1.44), HJ 2.74	SRHt 27.10, ŚP 331, VS 314, NV 32,59, SR 86.10, SSB 365.11, SRK 90.7 and 240.90, IS 735, SRRU 923, NBh 271, Sama 1 अ 61, SLP 48.5-6	SRHt a. Kalāvidya, ŚP, SR and SSB a. P; NV a. Vallabhadeva
198.	अश्वमेधसहस्राणां 245.1 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 12. App.·17B lines 156-7	SRHt 266.8	SRHt a. MBh
199.	अश्वव्यूहैर्भटानीकं 146.11 a.n.	Mānasollāsa 1.2. 1212*cd* + 1213*cd*	SRHt 164.11	SRHt a. Mānasollāsa

200. अश्वा नागाः स्यन्दनानां 115.11 a.P		SRHt 105.11	SRHt a. P but no found there
201. अष्टानां लोकपालानां 51.11 a. Manu	*a*=Mn 5.95*a*	SRHt 62.18	SRHt a. MBh but not found in MBh (Bh)
202. अष्टौ मानान् तथादित्यस् 80.61 a.n.	*ab*=Mn 9.305 and (R(Bar) 2. App. I 29.5)	SRHt 178.81, VirR 19.11	Follows the SRHt text
203. असंवृतस्य कार्याणि 76.17 a.n.	(K(K) 7.13.44)	SRHt 173.20	SRHt a. K
204. असंवृताकारतया 115.6 a.n.		SRHt 106.7	SRHt a. MBh; but not found in MBh (Bh)
205. असज्जनेन संपर्काद् 178.3 a.n.		SRHt 232. 2, Vyās 41, NBh 244. Vyās(C) 37, Vyās(S)37	SRHt a. Vyāsaśataka Follows the SRHt text
206. असतामुपभोगाय 42.36 a.n.		SRHt 42.36	SRHt a. Bṛhatkathā
207. असतोऽपि भवति गुणवान् 183.62 a. Ravigupta		SRHt 199.144, VS 2866	SRHt a. Ravigupta; VS a. Argaṭa
208. असत्संपर्कदोषेण 178.1 a.n.	Cr 114	SRHt 231.1, Vyās 37, IS 7463 Vyas(C) 33, Vyas(S) 33	SRHt a. Vyāsaśataka Follows the SRHt text
209. असन्तुष्टाश्च्युताः स्थानान् 103.8 a.n.		SRHt 130.12	SRHt a. MBh but not found in MBh (Bh).

SSSN	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources	Remarks
210. असन्तुष्टो द्विजो नष्टः 198.2 a.n.	Cr 110, HJ 3.67, PX 1.6, PKS 10	SRHt 236.2, SR 162.411, SSB 493.418, VP 9.63, NT 42, NBh 178, Sama 1अ11, Sama 2अ2, IS 755 LN(P) 117, DhN (P) 353, NKy (B) 145, NŚ 4.24, TK (OJ) 28, Vyās(C) 52, Vyās (S) 50	SRHt a. Vyāsaśataka; SR a. C. Follows the SRHt text
211. असंतो ये निवर्तन्ते 141.1 a.n.		SRHt 124.1	SRHt a. MBh. but not found in MBh (Bh)
212. असंत्यागात् पापकृताम् 232.7 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 5.34.67 and 12, 74.23	SRHt 232.8, IS 758. SS(OJ)332	SRHt a. MBh. Follows the SRHt text
213. असमग्रविलोकितेन 230.4 a.n.		VS 1596	VS a. Vṛṣṇigupta
214. असमर्थं परित्यज्य 42.1 a. MBh		SRHt *120.1*	SRHt a. MBh but not found in MBh (Bh).
215. असमापितकृत्यसंपदां 151.16 a. Bhāravi	Kir 2.48	SRHt 128.17	SRHt a. Bhāravi
216. असम्भेद्यः शुचिर्दशः 109.1 a.n.		SRHt *142.1*	
217. असहायः समर्थोऽपि 131.15 a. Kalāvilāsa (for Bhoja [See "S"])	P(PP 3.48, Pts 3.56, PtsK 3.54, PD 311.167, PM 3.20)	SRHt *109.16*, VS 2656, IS 770 (cf. NBh 56 and *Subh 176*)	SRHt a. Bhoja. Follows the SRHt text
218. असावनास्थापरयाव° 219.17 a. SR	Kir 4.34	SR 341.26, SSB 220.33	SSB a. Bhāravi
219. असिधाराक्रमाक्रान्ता 179.8 a.n.		SRHt 188.9	SRHt a. MBh but not found in MBh (Bh)

220.	असौ मरुच्चुम्बितचारुकेसरः 210.7 a. SR	Han 6.35	SP 3783, VS 1677, JS 206.4, PV 599, SR 331.15, SSB 197.15, SuSS 277, RJ 1191, Vidy 477, Kpr 7.190, KāP 196.17-8, KH 210.2-3, VyVi 206. 31-2, Amd 151.382	ŚP, VS, JS, SSB and Vidy a. Bhaṭṭabījaka; SR a. Han; PV a. Bālakṛṣna
221.	अरतब्धमक्लीबमदीर्घ° 121.9 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 5.37.25	SRHt 157.9, IS 791	SRHt (a. Vallabhadeva)
222.	अस्थाने ह्यपि च स्थाने 71.1 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 3.29.17	SRHt 86.1	SRHt a. MBh
223.	अस्य सखे वधिरलो° 192.51 a.n.		ŚP 840, PdT 210, SR 225. 132, SSB 614.23, Any 63.96, IS 805, RJ 373, SRK 187.1, VS 805, SSH 1.57	New readings
224.	अस्या मनोहराकार° 222.13 a.n.		ŚP 3286, VS 1480, AP 82, SR 257.1, SSB 68.1, SRK 273.3, RJ 639	ŚP, VS and SSB a. Vararuci
225.	अहं मुनीनां वचनं 178.9 a. PT	P (See माताप्येक)	SRHt 232.10. See माताप्येका	SRHt a. PT
226.	अहन्यहनि बोद्धव्यं 111.21 a.n.		SRHt 100.22 and 147.35	
227.	अहन्यहनि भूतानि 175.5 a.n.		SRHt 223.5, Vyās App. 1.4. SS(OJ) 304	SRHt a. Vyāsaśataka
228.	अहापयन् नृपः कालं 79.51 a. Kāmandaka	KN (ĀnSS) 5.63	SRHt 176.61	SRHt a. Kāmandaka
229.	अहिंसा सत्यवचनं 31.1 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 13.128.25	SRHt 23.2, ŚP 637, VS 3010, IS 823	SRHt a. Mn but not found in Mn(Jh); VS a. Vyāsamuni
230.	अहिंसा सत्यवचनम् 29.1 a.n.	MBh(Bh) 12.80.17	SRHt 20.1	SRHt a. MBh

SSSN	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources	Remarks
231. अहिते हितबुद्धिरल्पधीर् 24.21 a.n.		SRHt 67.34	New readings
232. अहिते हि हिताकारं 113.12 a. MBh	R(B) 6.63.16	SRHt 103.12	SRHt a. MBh, but not found in MBh (Bh). Follows the SRHt text
233. अहिरण्यभद्रासीकं 171.3 a.n.	Cr 124	SRHt 228.3, IS 7466. SS(OJ) 291	SRHt a. Vallabhadeva. Follows the SRHt tex;
234. अहीनकालं राजार्थं 167.17 a.n.	K(K) 5.4.11	SRHt 145.18	SRHt a. Saṅgraha Follows the SRHt text; new readings

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

MOTHER INDIA. Dec. 1968. Special Number for the 25th Anniversary of the International Centre of Education at the Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Edited by K.D. Sethna. Pp. 211. Price Rs. 5.00. Publisher, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry.

Those who are eager to know about the International Centre of Education at the Sri Aurobindo Ashram will find this special number of *Mother India* a veritable source of information. This International Centre of Education is a place where a new experiment and research in education is being made. The centre has provision for education from the kindergarten to the higher and advanced levels of study. Here a system of integral education is followed and this has been called Free Progress System.

This special number contains many valuable articles on different topics divided into eight parts. First seven parts are compilations from the writings of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother, and these are on the necessity of a spiritual change in society, the nature of the integral yoga which will usher in this change, and how it can be realised through education. The eighth part consists of various articles by the teachers of the International Centre. Some of these are—"A True Professor" by Nalini Kanta Gupta, "The Necessity and Significance of Free Progress System of Education" by Tanmaya and Kireet, "Sri Aurobindo and the Reshaping of Man" by K. D. Sethna, "The Problem of Love in Education" by Pavitra, "The Role of Physical Education in the Sri Aurobindo Ashram" by Pranab Kumar Bhattacharya. There are also 13 appendices informing the readers about the Ashram, its different organisations and research projects. There are some illustrations at the end showing various aspects of the activities of the Centre, which are interesting and informative.

The all-comprehensive philosophy of Sri Aurobindo which considers every aspect of life is not yet fully known and clearly understood by many. Even some professional philosophers consider it as a speculative social philosophy and there are others who find

it as unintelligible. This volume therefore is important to help intelligent and inquisitive persons in understanding the integral philosophy of Sri Aurobindo, and how on the basis of it a new life of permanent peace and happiness can be realised by man in this life by changing his mode of thinking and behaviour patterns.

This philosophy proposes for us a radical change of human nature based on a new concept of man. The Mother says: "There should be somewhere upon earth a place that no nation could claim as its sole property, a place where all human beings of good-will, sincere in their aspiration, could live freely as citizens of the world, obeying one single authority, that of the supreme Truth." But the Mother points out that "the earth is certainly not ready to realise such an ideal, for mankind does not yet possess the necessary knowledge to understand and accept it, nor the indispensable conscious force to execute it." Hence she calls this ideal a dream. But she adds further: "Yet this dream is on the way of becoming a reality." How Sri Aurobindo Ashram is seeking this goal can be known through the perusal of this special number of *Mother India,* by persons who want to understand human destiny and are eager to find out "effective means of coming out of the present chaos in order to be born into a more true, more harmonious new life."

S. DATTA

NṚTTARATNĀVALĪ OF JAYASENĀPATI. Edited by Dr. V. Raghavan. Published by Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Price Rs. 22.00.

Nṛttaratnāvalī written by Jayasenāpati is an important work in Indian dance literature. This work is also useful from the historical point of view. The author had written this book under the patronage of Kakatiya kings, and was able to give precious and useful information regarding the history of Andhra Pradesh. He was the commander of elephant forces of the Mahārājadhirāja Gaṇapati Deo, which is obvious from the calophon of this work.

We should give the credit for its publication to the veteran scholar Dr. Raghavan of Madras, who has edited this work with the help of different manuscripts obtained from Saraswati Mahāl Library, Tanjore and Asiatic Society of Bengal. The missing information in these manuscripts was supplemented from older Sanskrit works on dance and drama.

Dr. Raghavan has contributed invaluable material from the research point of view in Indian dance, drama, and music literature. For years he had been the editor of the Journal of Madras Music Academy, and has done serious research in the field of Indian Music.

In the introduction Dr. Raghavan has specially described the importance of dance literature in India. He has referred to the contribution of Andhra Pradesh to Sanskrit literature and has shown the value of *Nṛttaratnāvalī* by giving the views of different Ācāryas who are authorities on dance and drama.

Dr. V. Ragahvan deserves appreciation for this valuable work.

SHRIMAN NARAIN DWIVEDI

BAUDDHA GĀNA-ME TĀNTRIKA SIDDHĀNTA. By Dr. Jayadhari Sinha, Madhubani, District Darbhanga. Price Rs. 16.00.

'Bauddha Gana-me Tāntrika Siddhānta' a research publication of Dr. Jayadhari Sinha, was submitted to Bihar University for Ph.D. in Maithili. The *Caryā Gītis* in *Apabhraṁśa* have been here critically studied in the perspective of Bengali, Maithili, Assamese and Hindi literatures. The subject-matter of these *Carya Gītis* has been most obscure though it has been explored by scholars like Mm. Haraprasad Sastri, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Sashibhushandas Gupta, Dr. Sukumar Sen and Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayan etc. These scholars have explained in detail the philosophical, religious, social and cultural aspects of society with the help of *Caryā Gītis.*

In the present thesis Dr. Sinha has given a different view. Formerly *Caryā Gītis* used to be explained with the help of Sanskrit commentary written by Munidatta. Now Dr. Sinha has stated that the commentary of Munidatta is not reliable for the study of these *Gītis.* The symbolic diction of *Caryā Gītis* was said to be based on Bauddha Tantra. As a scholar of Hindu Tantra Dr. Sinha believes that Bauddha Tantras are in no way different from Hindu Tantras. But it is difficult to say that *Caryā Gītis* are without the influence of Bauddha thought. Still we appreciate the approach of Dr. Sinha; he has given a new direction to our studies in the subject-matter of these mystic vernacular songs.

This volume is in two parts. The first part is further divided into two chapters. In the first chapter Dr. Sinha has explained the technical terms used in *Caryā Gītis* in the context of Hindu Tantras. In the second chapter he has translated fifty of the *Caryā Gītis* into the Maithili language. The second part of the thesis is in three chapters. In the first one he criticises the Sanskrit commentary of Munidatta. In the second he has critically studied the history of Pal period of Bengal simply to explain the social framework of the *Caryā Gītis*. In the third he has studied the literary aspect of *Caryā Gītis* and has revalued their social, political and literary specialities.

We certainly agree with Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi that the book should be translated into Hindi in order that its utility be for a wider public.

Dr. Sinha has made a distinct contribution to Bauddha Gana Studies for which orientalists will ever remain thankful to him.

SHRIMAN NARAIN DWIVEDI

VIDYĀPATI'S LIKHANĀVALĪ. Edited by Dr. Indra Kant Jha. Published by Indralaya Prakashan, 33/247, Rajendra Nagar, Patna.Price Rs. 6.50.

Likhanāvalī is a work prepared by Mahakavi Vidyapati to instruct us in the art of writing letters. In Sanskrit literature we have many works on letter-writing; such as Vararuci's *Patra-Kaumudī*, Dalapati's *Praśasti Ratnakośa*, Balkrishna Tripathi's *Praśasti Kāśikā*, etc. *Lekh Paddhati* was already published in Gaekward Oriental Series; *Praśasti Kāśikā* was recently published by Vishveshwaranand Research Institute, Hosiarpur. In this context we can say that Vidyāpati's *Likhanāvalī* is a valuable work written in the middle ages, which was published long ago from Darbhanga but it had been long out of print. Now due to the efforts of Dr. Jha the work has been translated into Hindi and Maithili languages. In the introduction of this book Dr. Jha has described the society of the day's of Vidyapati with the help of this work. Mm. Haraprasad Sastri, Mm. Dr. Umesha Mishra, Dr. Sukumar Sen, Pandit Shashinatha Jha, and Dr. Jayakanta Mishra had also given their views on *Likhanāvali*, already published, which can be helpful for further studies in the context of the original work. We appreciate and thank Dr. Jha for this reprint, so ably edited and translated.

SHRIMAN NARAIN DWIVEDI

गीतिकादम्बरी—लेखक : कविरत्नं श्री अमीरचन्द्रशास्त्री साहित्याचार्यः दिल्ली-स्थितस्य लालबहादुरशास्त्रिराष्ट्रियसंस्कृतविद्यापीठस्य प्राध्यापकः। प्रकाशकः सम्पादकश्च तस्यैव विद्यापीठस्य निदेशकः डा० मण्डन मिश्रः। प्रस्तावनालेखकः वाराणसेय संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य उपकुलपतिः डा० गौरीनाथशास्त्री। आकारः ९३/४ × ६। पत्राणि ५६८ मितानि। प्रकाशनकालः १९६८ तमः खिष्टाब्दः। मूल्यम् विंशतिरूप्यकाणि।

ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् लेखकस्य द्वादशप्रभेदाः प्रकरणग्रन्थाः सङ्कलिताः सन्ति। ते च यथाक्रमं गीतिकादम्बरी, श्रीमद्भागवतकथासारः, अध्यात्मदर्शनम्, को वेदाधिकारी, रसकल्पतरुः, हितकल्पतरुः, सङ्गीतवृन्दावनम्, स्तुतिकादम्बरी, चरितकादम्बरी, व्याख्यानकादम्बरी, प्रशस्तिकादम्बरी पूर्तिकादम्बरी चेति।

ध्रुवमिह तन्त्रशास्त्रप्रशस्तवामाचाराराधनाविहिताभिर्द्वादशप्रकाराभिः कादम्बरीभिर्वाग्देवतामर्चितुकामः कविवरः ग्रन्थममुं प्रणयते। अतएव गीतिकादम्बरीति सर्वथान्वर्थाभिधानमस्य सङ्गच्छते। कलाप्रवीणा वीणापाणिः नूनमेतस्य गेयपदकदम्बैः सुप्रीता रसनायां नृत्यन्तीवास्मदादिभिः प्रतीयते। राष्ट्रकविदिनकरप्रभृतीनां दोषज्ञानामभिरुचिं संवर्द्धयन् ग्रन्थोऽयं सम्पादकीये बहु प्रशंसितः याथातथ्येनेति न पिष्टपेषणमपेक्षते।

तत्र गीतिकादम्बरीग्रन्थे राधाकृष्णयोर्भक्तिभावितेन कविना तत्स्तुतये त्रिपञ्चाशन्मितानि ललितपदात्मकानि चार्वर्थव्यञ्जकानि गेयपदानि विभिन्नेषु हृद्यतमेषुच्छन्दस्सु विन्यस्तानि सन्ति।

भागवतकथासारप्रकरणे कृत्स्नाः भागवतकथाः संक्षेपेण समुपनिबद्धा अपि कथाहृदयग्राहकत्वकौशलेन लेखकमभिनन्दन्ति। दीर्घतमायाः कथायाः संक्षेपेण सारोक्तिः कलामेव कामपि व्यञ्जयति। यथा सूत्रतयाभिहितस्य विवरणं कलापरिचायकं जायते तथेयमपि। अत्रापि राधाकृष्णयोर्भक्तेरातिशय्यं कविकर्मणः प्रेरणाभूमिरिति मनुते जनोऽयम्। दीर्घच्छन्दसामुपयोगस्तु काव्यरचनापटिमानं परिचाययति।

अध्यात्मदर्शनप्रकरणे पौरस्त्यपाश्चात्योभयविधानां प्रसिद्धतमानां दर्शनानां प्रतिपादयितारस्तद्राद्धान्ताश्च द्विशताधिकसप्ततिसंख्यकेषु पद्येषूच्छवृत्त्या सन्ति संगृहीताः। यद्यपि कस्यचिद् दर्शनविशेषस्य क्रमबद्धा वर्णना नास्ति तथाप्यधिवैष्णवदर्शनं कविरत्नस्याधिकाभिरुचिर्लक्ष्यते। यद्यपि पाश्चात्याः दार्शनिकाः नामग्राहं समुल्लिखितास्तेषां मौलाः सिद्धान्ताश्च सूत्ररूपेण सन्तीहानुस्यूतास्तथापि दर्शनस्य गभीरतमे तले प्रविविक्षुः नैराश्यं लभते, पल्लवग्रहतया विषयाणामुपपादनेऽपि कस्यचिद् विषयस्य जिज्ञासायाः प्रशमाय प्रतिपादनपल्लवनस्य विरहात्। दर्शनरूपनीरसविषयमवलम्ब्य कान्तासम्मितोपदेशप्रदर्शनमिह कविकौशलमेधयते।

को वेदाधिकारीति प्रकरणे रोचकमपि जनतायाः समक्षं जागरूकं विषयं समासाद्य प्रवर्तमाना कथा तर्कप्रमाणाभ्यां भारतीयानां पुरातनीं सरणिं विद्योतयति अथच

शास्त्राभिप्रायानवगन्तृभिः पण्डितंमन्यैः क्षिप्तं पङ्कं प्रक्षालयतीति स्तुत्यः कविप्रयासः । विवदमानं विषयं निर्णेतुं सरसायाः काव्यसरण्या अवलम्बनं वैदुष्यं लेखकस्य ख्यापयति ।

रसकल्पतरुप्रकरणं नाम्ना सर्वविधां काव्यरससामग्रीमादाय पाठकमामन्त्रयति किन्तु केवलं राधाकृष्णयोः शृङ्गारं तत्प्रसङ्गपतितं मुख्यञ्च विषयजातं तद्भक्तिपरवशः कविरुपावर्णयदिति पाठकानां हृदयेषु जागरूकं कौतूहलं सन्तिष्ठते । नूनं काचिदेवैका शाखा रसकल्पतरोरिह स्पृष्टा बहवस्तु तद्विटपाः कविना न दृष्टा न वा स्पृष्टा इति प्रकरणस्यान्वर्थकतासङ्गतिर्न भवति ।

हितकल्पतरुप्रकरणे राधावल्लभसम्प्रदायसारमथ तद्व्याजेन दार्शनिक्या पद्धत्या मननरूपां तयोरुपास्तिं कुरुते कविरत्नम् । एकादशशतसंख्यकानि पद्यान्यनुष्टुप्छन्दसि विद्यन्ते निर्मितानि । इहोक्तिवैचित्र्यं कविरत्नमुज्ज्वलयति ।

सङ्गीतवृन्दावने श्रीराधारससुधानिधिस्तवस्य प्रतिश्लोकं निर्मितेषु त्रिंशत्सर्गेषु विभज्यमाना रसकुल्यभिधाना सहस्राधिकपद्यमयी विवृतिः विविधविधेषुच्छन्दःसु निबद्धा प्रसभं प्रज्ञावतां चेतांसि चोरयति । पूर्वं भागवतकथासारप्रकरणे विस्तरेणोपदिष्टस्य संक्षेपेणाभिधानकलां प्रदर्श्याधुना संक्षेपोक्तेर्विस्तरेणोपदेशकलां प्रस्तौति पुरतः प्रेक्षावतां कविरत्नम् । यथा रसकुली मिष्टिः हठादन्यथा तृप्तस्यापि तामास्वादयितुं बुभुक्षां जनयति तथेयं व्याख्या राधाकृष्णौ प्रति कविभक्तिं समेधयति ।

स्तुतिकादम्बर्यां कविः मुख्यतः राधाकृष्णौ स्तौति । यद्यपि सरस्वत्याः, सोमनाथस्य, भारतवर्षस्य, भगवतो बुद्धस्यान्यस्य च स्तवाः सन्त्यत्र तथापि प्राचुर्यं राधाकृष्णस्तोत्रस्य विलसति । पुनस्तत्रापि गायत्रीमन्त्रस्य राधाभावनया भावनं पाठकानां हृदयानि मुष्णाति । व्याकरणस्य प्रथिम्ना सह कविरत्नस्य भक्त्युद्रेकः सर्वथा प्रदर्शनीयतां श्रयति ।

चरितकादम्बरीप्रकरणे पञ्चशतादधिकाः श्लोकाः प्रणीताः सन्ति । भारतस्य स्वातन्त्र्यार्थं बद्धपरिकराणां भारतीयानामहिंसासेनानीनां केषाञ्चन महात्मगान्धिपण्डित जवाहरलालनेहरूलालबहादुरशास्त्रिणां चरितकीर्तनेन सार्द्धं बहूनन्यान् विषयान् सत्सङ्गतिरामनामजपप्रभावशिवरामाभेदान् दीनदयालुशर्मचरितानि रसविलासमिषेण राधाकृष्णयोः वागुपास्तिञ्च प्रणीतवानिह कविरत्नम् । चरितकीर्तनप्राधान्येनास्य प्रकरणस्यान्वर्थकत्वं निष्पद्यते । भङ्गीभणितये प्रयुक्तेभ्यश्छन्दोभ्यः पाठकाः स्पृहयन्ति ।

व्याख्यानकादम्बरीप्रकरणेऽनेकेष्ववसरेषु कविरत्नस्य पद्यमयानि व्याख्यानानि सञ्चितानि वर्तन्ते । अतएव प्रकरणस्यान्वर्थकत्वं सिद्ध्यति । इह त्रिशतानि पद्यानि विलसन्ति । तत्र वैदिकसंस्कृतिपरिचयः, वेदस्यापौरुषेयत्वसिद्धान्तः, कालिदासस्तुतिश्च मुख्यविषयतया निर्देष्टुं शक्यानि ।

प्रशस्तिकादम्बर्यां काश्चन प्रासरिकाः प्रशस्तयः महापुरुषमहिमकीर्तनानि च

लसन्ति । पूर्तिकादम्बर्या समागतानां नैकविधानां समस्याजातानां कविरत्नकृताः पूर्तयस्तदीयमाशुकवित्वं द्योतयन्ति ।

कविरत्नमेतत् कविकर्मणि अलङ्काराय नैव यतते, तथापि प्राञ्जलभाषाप्रवाहे स्वभावतः समागत्यासौ स्वयं सौष्ठवं वितरति । वैदर्भीप्रसादौ रीतिगुणावपि दम्पतीवात्र क्रीडतः । व्याकरणच्छन्दःशास्त्रयोराधिपत्यमेतस्य कविरत्नस्यान्येषां सजातीयानां मनःसु कामपि लज्जामुत्पादयति । अतएव सहृदयहृदयानि स्पृशति लोकोत्तराह्लादः । ग्रन्थनिचयस्यास्याध्ययनेन स्वातन्त्र्योत्तरभारतस्य संस्कृतकविप्रतिनिधित्वमुपकल्पयितुमस्मिन् कविरत्ने शक्यम् ।

—डा० श्रीकिशोरनाथझा

प्रमाणप्रमोदः—महामहोपाध्यायचित्रधरविरचितः, महामहोपाध्यायदुःखमोचनझाकृतसंस्कृतव्याख्योपेतः । सम्पादिका—श्रीमती उज्ज्वला शर्मा । प्रकाशकः—लालबहादुरशास्त्रिराष्ट्रियसंस्कृतविद्यापीठम्, दिल्ली । प्रकाशनकालः—१९६८ ख्रिष्टाब्दः । मूल्यम् ७·५० रूप्यकाणि ।

न्यायसूत्रभाष्ययोरङ्कुरितानामुद्द्योतकराचार्यस्य वार्तिके पल्लवितानां, वाचस्पतिमिश्रस्य तात्पर्यटीकायां कोरकितानामाचार्योदयनस्य परिशुद्धौ प्रस्फुटितानामीश्वरस्थापकप्रमाणकुसुमानामञ्जलेरामोदः शङ्करमिश्रेण धीधनेषु प्रसारित इति विदितचरम् । तत्रामोदमयस्य कुसुमाञ्जलेरुपजीवकमेतं प्रमाणप्रमोदाख्यं ग्रन्थं विरचय्य महामहोपाध्यायश्चित्रधरः प्रकृष्टतरमात्मनः पाण्डित्यं पुरतो नैयायिकानां ख्यापयत्येव ।

कुसुमाञ्जलेर्यद्यपि विविधाः व्याख्याः विभिन्नैर्विद्वद्भिरनेकेषु च समयेषु विरचिताः समुपलभ्यन्ते, तथापि तमुपजीव्यतया गृहीत्वा ग्रन्थरचनां तु विरल एव विद्वान् करोति स्मेति तज्ज्ञेषु प्रसिद्धम् । अतएव महामहोपाध्यायचित्रधरशर्मणस्तादृशग्रन्थरचना तस्य च दुःखमोचनझामहाशयेन कृता टीका च सर्वथाभिनवपद्धतिपरम्परां प्रदर्शयतीत्यत्र नास्ति विचिकित्सावसरः ।

प्रमाणप्रमोदकृच्चित्रधरस्तु नव्यन्यायस्य सम्प्रदायमनुसृत्य प्रमुखाः ईश्वरस्थापिका औदयनयुक्तीरभिनवया सरण्या चिन्तयति । पश्चात् नामग्राहं कस्याप्यनुल्लेखेऽपि प्रतिपक्षिभिरत्र क्षिप्तस्य पङ्कस्य क्षालनेन नैयायिकयुक्तिमुखानेष दीपयति ।

'द्वित्वे च पाकजोत्पत्तौ विभागे च विभागजे ।
यस्य न स्खलिता बुद्धि'–

रिति कारिकां स्मारं स्मारं वैशेषिकप्रसिद्धद्वित्वविचारमसौ निपुणया स्वबुद्ध्युद्भावितयाथ च पुरातनप्रमाणानामुपोद्बलकमापन्नया युक्त्या प्रसाधयति । सङ्करस्य शास्त्रार्थस्तु जातिबाधकपरिष्कारतोऽप्यधिकं चमत्कारं जनयति । प्रसङ्गपतितस्य कार्यकारणभावसिद्धान्तस्य नैयायिकनीत्या स्थापनं हृदयाकर्षकं विद्यते ।

चिन्तनप्रणाल्यां स्वतन्त्रोऽप्ययं लिखनविधौ वर्द्धमानोपाध्यायमनुगच्छति। अतएवैतद्ग्रन्थस्य भाषायां प्रौढ़िः, प्रमाणेषु दाढ्र्य चिन्तने च नूतनता परिलक्ष्यते।

व्याख्याकारस्तु गभीरप्रवेशे धीवर इव धीवरोऽस्ति। अतएव सर्वत्र ग्रन्थकृद्रहस्यं विदुषां पुरतः स्थापयितुं क्षमते।

अत्र च सम्पादकीये विदुषी सम्पादिका प्रतिपाद्यविषयाणां दिग्दर्शनेन साकं ग्रन्थकृतस्तद्व्याख्यातुश्च परिचयमथ च वैदुष्यं सम्यगुपवर्णयति। ईश्वरवादस्यातिसंक्षिप्तमितिहासमपि कथयति। तत्र चैका कथा मन्ये भ्रममूलिका प्रमादात्तयाभिहिता। सा च कल्याणरक्षिताचार्ये प्रतिपक्षितोदयनाचार्यस्य। यतोहि ईश्वरवादमधिकृत्य शास्त्रविचारे धर्मकीर्तिना बौद्धाचार्येण यथोद्द्योतकरो निराकृतस्तथा वाचस्पतिमिश्रेण धर्मकीर्तिः। एवं पश्चात् ज्ञानश्रीमित्रेण वाचस्पतिमतखण्डने सति तन्मण्डनार्थमुदयनस्य परिशुद्धौ कुसुमाञ्जलावन्यत्रात्मतत्त्वविवेके च प्रयत्न इत्युदयनाचार्यस्य प्रधानः प्रतिपक्षी ज्ञानश्रीमित्राभिधानः बौद्धाचार्य एवासीत्, न तु कल्याणरक्षिताचार्यः। कल्याणरक्षितस्येश्वरभङ्गकारिकायाः भोटभाषातः संस्कृतानुवादः महामहोपाध्यायविधुशेखरशास्त्रिमहाशयैर्विहितोऽस्ति। तस्य दर्शनेन कोऽपि ज्ञातुं प्रभवेदुदयनाचार्येण निराकृतये कल्याणरक्षितयुक्तिस्पर्शो न कृत इति।

एतादृशस्य ग्रन्थस्य सम्पादनप्रकाशनाभ्यां तद्विषयमधिकृत्यानुसन्धित्सूनां कृते नितरां पथः प्रकाशो भवति अथ च न्यायशास्त्रस्य भाण्डागारोऽपि समृद्धिमेतीति प्रशस्यतमोऽयं सम्पादकप्रकाशकयोः प्रयास इति।

——डा० श्रीकिशोरनाथझा

काश्मीरेतिहासः—लेखकः स्वर्गीय आचार्यः श्रीहनुमत्प्रसादशास्त्री पण्डितमार्तण्डः लालबहादुरशास्त्रिराष्ट्रियसंस्कृतविद्यापीठस्य भूतपूर्वप्राध्यापकः। सहायकलेखकः श्रीधीरानन्दमिश्रः एम० ए० न्यायाचार्यः निर्दिष्टविद्यापीठप्राध्यापकः। प्रधानसम्पादकः प्रकाशकश्चोक्तस्य विद्यापीठस्य निदेशकः डा० मण्डनमिश्रः। प्रस्तावनालेखकः जम्बूकाश्मीरमहाराजाधिराजः डा० कर्णसिंहः एम० ए० पी-एच० डी०। प्रकाशनकालः २०२४ तमः विक्रमाब्दः। आकृतिः ९$\frac{1}{2}$ × ६। पृष्ठाः ३१४ सङ्ख्यकाः। मूल्यं पञ्चदशरूप्यकाणि।

दिव्या काश्मीरभूमिः सनातनसमयादेव प्राकृतिकसुषमाभिः प्रेक्षकाणां मनांसि मुष्णाति पुष्णाति च रसिकाणामवदातां रुचिरां रुचिं साहित्यसुधारसस्रोतस्विनीमागमकल्लोलिनीश्च तेषामवगाहनाय प्रवाहयन्ती। अतएव च महाकविना तत्रत्येन विल्हणेन—

सहोदराः कुङ्कुमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविताविलासाः।
न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोहः ॥१।२१॥

इति विक्रमाङ्कदेवचरिते शारदादेशतया काश्मीरदेशप्रशंसास्ति विहिता । केसर-कुङ्कुमकस्तूरिकादिनिरुपमवस्तूत्पादनदानप्रवृत्त्या निजौदार्यं प्रथयन्तीयं यथा भगवन्तं शिवमाराधयितुकामा शैवागमोत्समुत्सङ्गे करोति तथैव बौद्धधर्मदर्शनयोः प्रचारप्राचुर्याय कटिबद्धापि जायते । सर्वेषां सन्तोषकरी भूमिरियं स्वर्गादपि गरिमणि समेधते ।

एतस्याः रोचकमितिवृत्तं पुरा राजतरङ्गिण्यां तत्रत्य एव कल्हणमहाकविः सञ्चिनोति स्म । काकवृत्तिमवलम्बमानाः अपि पाश्चात्याः दोषज्ञाः फ्लीटप्रभृतयः कान्तासम्मितोपदेशशैलीमनुसृत्येतिवृत्तोपदेशकौशलं तस्याद्यापि सर्वथाभिनन्दन्ति । पश्चात् पूरकतयैतस्या विपश्चिदपश्चिमैः जोनराजश्रीवरशुकप्रभृतिभिः प्रणीताः ग्रन्थाः काश्मीरभूमेरितिवृत्तस्य पर्याप्तां सामग्रीं प्रस्तुवन्ति ।

प्रकृतस्य ग्रन्थस्य रचयिता संस्कृतेऽन्यभाषायाञ्च निर्मितानां प्राचीनानामर्वाचीनानाञ्च ग्रन्थजातानां पर्यवेक्षणं कृत्वा प्रयत्नवानत्र लक्ष्यते । यद्यपि 'नामूलं लिख्यते किञ्चिन्नानपेक्षितमुच्यते' इति मल्लिनाथाचार्योक्तिमादर्शतया हृदि निधाय ग्रन्थनिर्मिताविह प्रवृत्तः ग्रन्थकारः संस्कृते सञ्जीवयन्नितिहासलेखनपरम्परां पाश्चात्यैः क्षिप्तं कलङ्कपङ्कं संस्कृतज्ञस्येतिहासलेखने पटुता नास्तीति वचोरूपं क्षालयति कल्हण इव । अतएव सर्वथा स्तुत्योऽस्ति मादृशानाम् । तथापि भारताद्बहिर्देशेषु बौद्धधर्मदर्शनयोः प्रचारे काश्मीरभूमेरसाधारणस्य योगदानस्य कृते स्वातन्त्र्येण विस्तारेण च वर्णनस्येहाभावः किमपि दुःखमक्षम्यं निदधात्येव यद्यपि सूत्रतयास्य कदाचिदस्ति चर्चेह ।

ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् द्वाविंशतिरनुच्छेदाः विलसन्ति । तत्र प्रथमे काश्मीरप्रदेशं विवृणोति ग्रन्थकारः । तद्वर्णनमिषेण च तत्रत्याः सारस्वतसाधनानिरता आचार्याः नामग्राहं व्यपदिष्टाः विद्यन्ते । अनितरसाधारणानि सार्वदिकानि यावन्ति तद्देशवैशिष्ट्यानि सन्त्यनुस्यूतानि । द्वितीये महाकविकल्हणकृताया राजतरङ्गिण्याः सारमाहृत्य सूत्ररूपः राजतरङ्गिणीविषयनिर्देशः विलसति । तृतीये तत्रैव वर्णितायाः काश्मीरराजावलेरनुक्रमणिका विद्यते । चतुर्थे कल्हणादन्यैरुल्लिखितायाः काश्मीरराजावालेः सूची वर्तते । पञ्चमे मुस्लिमराजावली, षष्ठे तु सविस्तरा प्रथमगोनन्दादिवंशीयराजावली वर्तते । सप्तमे द्वितीयगोनन्दवंशीयराजावली पुनरस्ति वर्णिता विस्तरेण । अष्टमे विक्रमादित्यज्ञातिवंशीयराजपरम्परायाः संग्रहोऽस्ति । नवमे प्रथमयुधिष्ठिरात् परवर्तिनां गोनन्दवंशीयराज्ञामनुक्रमणिका सविस्तरमस्ति निर्दिष्टा, दशमे कर्कोट (कायस्थ) वंशायराजावली चर्चिता, एकादशे उत्पलवंशीयराजावली, द्वादशे काश्मीरशासकाः यशस्करादयः, त्रयोदशे प्रथमलोहरवंशीयराजावली चतुर्दशे द्वितीयलोहरवंशीया राजावली, पञ्चदशे काश्मीरशासकाः जयसिंहादयः षोडशे काश्मीरराज्याधिकारिणो मुस्लिमशासकाश्च यथायथं सन्ति चर्चिताः । सप्तदशे जम्बूप्रदेशविवरणम्, अष्टादशे मुस्लिमविजेतारः दुर्गरराजानः वर्णिताः वर्तन्ते । अस्यैव वंशस्य कान्तिमान् मणिः महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान् कर्णसिंहः संस्कृतिसंस्कृतयोः समभ्युदयाय बद्धपरिकरः विराजते । ऊनविंशे

संस्कृतोपासकाः प्राचीनाः विद्वांसः, विंशे काश्मीरप्रसिद्धाः विद्वांसः, एकविंशे काश्मीर-सम्प्रदायप्रवर्तनप्रदर्शिका शिष्यपरम्परानुक्रमणिका, द्वाविंशे स्वातन्त्र्यानन्तरं जम्बू-काश्मीरराज्यस्येतिवृत्तवर्णना चास्ति । ग्रन्थस्यान्तिमे भागे परिशिष्टरूपे ग्रन्थकारस्य मौलिकत्वमधिकं विद्योतते । किन्तु कृत्स्नस्यैतद्ग्रन्थस्याध्ययनानन्तरमपि काश्मीरा-भिजनस्य न्यायसारतद्व्याख्याभूषणगणकारिकादिनैकविधग्रन्थप्रणेतुर्भासर्वज्ञाभिधस्य शैवाचार्यस्य चर्चामपि नैव पश्यति कश्चिदिति तादृशाचार्योपेक्षां नैव सहन्ते हृदयान्यस्मदादीनाम् ।

—डा० श्रीकिशोरनाथ झा

अध्वरमीमांसा-कुतूहलवृत्तिः—सम्पादकः विद्यासागर आचार्यश्रीपट्टाभिराम-शास्त्री साहित्यविभागाध्यक्षः, वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य । प्रधानसम्पादकः प्रकाशकश्च डा० मण्डनमिश्रः निदेशकः दिल्लीस्थितस्य लालबहादुरशास्त्रिराष्ट्रिय-संस्कृतविद्यापीठस्य । प्रस्तावनालेखकः डा० वी० गोपालरेड्डी राज्यपालः उत्तर प्रदेशस्य । प्रकाशनकालः १९६८-६९ तमः खिष्टाब्दः । आकृतिः ९¾ × ६ । पृष्ठाः ६३६ संख्यकाः । मूल्यम् त्रिंशद्रूप्यकाणि ।

व्याकरणस्य सिद्धान्तकौमुद्याः सुप्रसिद्धबालमनोरमाभिधव्याख्याकारत्वेन विद्वत्सु परिचितोऽयमष्टादशशताब्दीभवः वासुदेवदीक्षितः ग्रन्थस्यैतस्य विद्यते प्रणेता । निजपूर्व-तनमीमांसकानां कृतीः सम्यगवलोक्य गवेषणापद्धत्या मीमांसासूत्राणां वृत्तिमिह विर-चितवानस्ति ग्रन्थकारः । अतएव मीमांसाभाष्यं श्लोकवार्तिकं तन्त्रवार्तिक च ग्रन्थनिचयं यथास्थानं समुद्धरत्यसौ, सति वैमत्ये तदुक्तिं युक्तिप्रमाणाभ्यामपाकरोति स्वमतं निर्भीकतया स्थापयति च । मीमांसाध्येतारः पूर्वग्रन्थान्तरेभ्योऽधिकरणार्थं ज्ञात्वापि सूत्रार्थं नैवावगच्छन्तः महद्दुःखमन्वभवन् । तेषां दुःखापनोदाय ग्रन्थकृतोऽयं प्रयासोऽसाधारणीमुपकृतिं विदधात्येवेत्यत्र नास्ति केषामपि विशयलेशः । मीमांसादर्शनं न केवलं श्रुत्यर्थनिर्द्धारणे धर्मशास्त्रनिर्णये वा जनानुपकरोति, अपितु व्यावहारिके क्षेत्रे सर्वत्रैव इह निर्दिष्टन्यायप्रयोगेण जनाः सौविध्यमनुभवन्ति । अतएव साधनशास्त्रमेतत् सर्वथावश्यकमुचितञ्चेतिकृत्वा प्रसारप्रचारमपेक्षते । तत्र च प्रविविक्षूणां मार्गद्योतिकेयं कुतूहलवृत्तिः भृशं कौतुकं तनुते तदध्येतॄणाम् ।

यद्यपि पूर्वं पुण्यश्लोकैः म०म० कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिचरणैः एतस्याः वृत्तेः कियतोंऽशस्य सम्पादनं प्रकाशनञ्च विहितमस्ति तथापि कृत्स्नायास्तस्याः प्रकाशनाय बद्धपरिकरः लालबहादुरशास्त्रिराष्ट्रियसंस्कृतविद्यापीठस्य निर्देशकः मीमांसारुचिमात्मनः ख्यापयन् जिज्ञासूनुपकुर्वन् ग्रन्थरत्नप्रकाशनपरिचये जौहरीपदं लभमानोऽस्मदादीनां पूजनीयतां याति । इह यद्यपि तृतीयाध्यायान्तो भागः प्रकाशितस्तथापि न चिरादेव प्रकाशमागमिष्यत्यवशिष्टोऽपि भागः इत्याशासते मादृशाः । दीर्घकलेवरतया खण्डशः प्रकाशनमेव समुचितमेतादृशस्य ग्रन्थरत्नस्येति मन्वते ।

सम्पादकीयमेतस्य किमपि लोकोत्तरं वैशिष्ट्यं विषयपरिचयदृष्ट्यात्मनि संरक्षते। इह सप्तानां हस्तलेखग्रन्थानामुपयोगं विधायाधुनिकवैज्ञानिकसरणिमवलम्बमानः सुयोग्यः सम्पादकः शास्त्रस्य गभीरतमतलप्रवेशे धीवर इव धीवरः सम्पादनपटिमानं द्योतयति। समुचितपात्रे सम्पादनभारश्चेदारोप्यते सुवर्णे सुरभियोगो भवतीतीह दृष्टम्।

—डा० श्रीकिशोरनाथझा

SHORT NOTICES

PATANJALI'S YOGA APHORISMS. An interpretation by William Q. Judges. Published by Theosophical Company (India), Bombay. First Indian Edition 1965. Price not mentioned. Handy size. 74 pages.

This interpretation was written as far back as 1889 in New York by the late Mr. Judge. The idea was to publish a translation of Patanjali's *Yoga Sūtras* without too much of explanatory or detailed notes about the hidden meanings. Obviously this has at times resulted in making this small booklet a rather free translation and has therefore rightly been described as an interpretation. Many would like to differ from what Mr. Judge has to say like "Patanjali's rules compel the student not only to acquire a right knowledge of what is and what is not real, but also to practice all virtues, and while results in the way of psychic development are not so immediately seen as in the case of successful practitioner of Hatha Yoga, it is infinitely safer and is certainly spiritual *which Hath Yoga is not*". To call Hatha Yoga as not spiritual would be rather too sweeping a conclusion.

The ancient sūtras are a little difficult to translate and their interpretation often eludes the commentators in Sanskrit itself. Therefore the English interpretation or translations in other languages are bound to suffer from being too simple or explict. However the present edition is in a handy form and a brilliant attempt of its kind.

RAMAKANTA MISHRA

POEMS OF LOVE & WISDOM. By K.P. Bahadur, published by the Jaico Publishing House, 125 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bomby 1, 1969. Price in India Rs. 4.00 only. With an introduction by the author. Pages 170.

'Poems of Love and Wisdom' is a selection from *Satsai* of the famous court poet in Hindi, BIHARI. Bihari was a court poet of Shah Jehan. He wrote in the *Brajbhasa*, the language prevalent in the districts near about Mathura and the famous dialect of Hindi which till recently was the accepted form for writing verse and the Khari Boli did not find a place as the language suitable enough to express the emotions of the poets in Hindi. There is a famous couplet in Hindi about these couplets of Bihari :

satsaiyya ke dohre aru navika ke tira
dekhat men chote lage ghao kare gambhira

The couplets of Bihari's Satsai and the arrows of the fishermen do appear too small but they are verily capable of piercing deeply and are able to create deep wounds.

One would like to agree with the writer that the couplets are full of tender and charming pictures of the thoughts and the moods of men and women. The Satsai (a compilation of seven hundred verses) is rather more famous for its vivid studies of the moods of the lovers and Bihari's fame rests on them for being known as an erudite writer of Sṛngāra Rasa, erotic poetry. The choice of the words is almost unique inasmuch as the words of the couplets are capable of giving more than one meaning. His vast canvas includes vivid studies of love and beauty and the joys of the body and the soul.

In Hindi there are many editions of the Satsai and the most famous is of course the translation of Benipuri published by the Pustak Bhandar, Patna. In English too some translations have been attempted but this selection is by far the first representative collection in a pocket book form. The translation has been most of the time faithful and attempts have been made to explain the use of technical or out of the common expressions with the help of footnotes. The introduction is able to explain the Nayaka and Nayika and the tradition about the description of the beauty and the nature of women has been traced from Suradasa. One would have liked the author to mention the vast literature on this form of poetry in Sanskrit. This edition is sure to invite students to take up studies in that direction.

RAMAKANTA MISHRA

THAT STRANGE LITTLE BROWN MAN. GANDHI by Fredrick B. Fisher, with a forward by J.B. Kriplani, and an introduction and an Epilogue by Mrs. Welthy Fisher, Published by the Orient Longmans, New Delhi. Page i–xx and 251. Price Rs. 13.50.

This book was first published in America in 1932 after Gandhiji's return from the Second Round Table Conference. It was then banned in India and one of the reviewers of that period wrote about the book as one "that the British Government regards as important enough to be dangerous."

As Acharya, one of the closest associates and disciples of Gandhi, says: "That such a book could have been written as early as 1932 when Gandhiji, his personality, his thought and activities suffered from false and mendacious propaganda, liberally financed by an imperial Govt....is a matter that deserves great credit. Every Indian must feel grateful to the author for he has described Gandhiji's thought and Indian life with sympathy, clarity and in powerful and trenchant language."

The author (husband of the now famous Mrs. Welthy Fisher of the Literacy House, Lucknow), was a bishop of the Methodist Church and wanted to depict Gandhi the man. As he wrote in the old preface: "I shall have failed in my purpose if I do not make you see behind the statesman, politician or ascetic, if you wish, Gandhi the man, living, breathing, loving, serving, repenting, triumphant, Gandhi who is my friend."

Mrs. Fisher has added to the lustre of the book by her introduction of Fred Fisher, her husband, once again to the new forgetful younger generation as also for her own epilogue at the end of the book. One would share with her the following: "It was said by Albert Einstein, the great scientist that three hundred years from now no one will believe that such a man as Mahatma Gandhi ever walked this earth. It is important therefore for those of us who knew him, admired him and loved him and tried to follow in his own ways, to share some of our experiences with him and the impact of his life had on ours." There is already a section in India, though too small, that does not want to honour Gandhi or Jawahar or Tagore and it would do them a singular service to at least know one whom they recognise only as a mere politician, in what reverence others

have held him in their own life-time and what influence it had on their life. Posterity can only write the final verdict but it must be remembered by all that Gandhiji's contribution does not lie with the furtherance of the Indian cause alone; his message has assuaged hundreds of hearts overseas. The only regrettable feature about the book is its high cost for the Indian pocket.

RAMAKANTA MISHRA

YOGA FOR YOU. By Indra Devi. Published by Jaico Publishing House. Pp. 183. Price Rs. 4.00.

As stated by the writer of the foreword, Sri Yehudi Merubin the world-famous pianist, Yoga is one of the greatest disciplines in the world and can be practised at each stage with positive results. Indra Devi is the first occidental woman ever to teach Yoga in India, the country of its origin. The present book contains a six weeks' course for home-practice.

The course prescribed is, however, not in keeping with the authorised ones taught by adept Indian Yogis.

GOPI KRISHNA MANIYAR

UNIVERSAL THEOSOPHY. By Robert Crosbic. Published by Theosophy Company (India). 1967, Pp. 171. Price not mentioned.

In the foreword it has been stated that the simple writings and words of Robert Crosbic are found by many to go to the heart of their questions and wonderings. This may be true to some extent in respect of this book. But no new idea is contained in this book which is a summary of some of the themes dealt with in other good Theosophy books.

GOPI KRISHNA MANIYAR

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PROFESSOR DANIEL A. H. INGALLS

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अथ सर्वेषां शास्त्राणां त्वमेव प्रतिपाद्य इत्याह्--

त्रयी साङ्ख्यं योगः पशुपतिमतं वैष्णवमिति
प्रभिन्ने प्रस्थाने परमिदमदः पथ्यमिति च ।
रुचीनां वैचित्र्यादृजुकुटिलनानापथजुषां-
नृणामेको गम्यस्त्वमसि पयसामर्णव इव ।।७।।

टीका

हे अमरवर ! नृणां मनुष्याणां त्वमेव गम्यो ज्ञातव्यः असि। तथा च मनुष्याणां त्वं ज्ञानमेव परं कृत्यम् । त्वं कीदृशः एकः स्वसमानजातीयद्वितीयरहितः । एतेनोपमाननिरासः । क इव अर्णव इव । यथार्णवो जलनिधिः पयसां जलानां गम्यः प्राप्यो भवति । नृणां कीदृशानां प्रस्थाने प्रभिन्ने सति, इदं परमदः पथ्यमिति रुचीनां वैचित्र्यात्, तव ऋजुकुटिलनानापथजुषाम् । प्रस्थीयते अनेनेति प्रस्थाने । तथाच विषयस्यैक्येऽपि स्वस्वेच्छया प्रकारभेदाद्भेद इति भावः । ऋजवः कुटिलाः नाना विषये पन्थानस्तेषु जुषन्ते भजन्ति [इति] ऋजुकुटिलनानापथजुषाम् । तथा च नानामतानुसारिणामपि त्वमेव प्रतिपाद्यो नान्य इति हस्तस्पृष्टनासिकान्यायात् रुचिभेदमाह्--त्रयी वेदत्रयी, साङ्ख्यं दर्शनं, योगो योगशास्त्रं, पशुपतिमतं पाशुपतं, वैष्णवं वेदवेदान्त शास्त्रमतमित्यनेन प्रकारेण अत्राशक्तं (?) शिव इति तौ वा इत्यादि ।।७।।

एवं कुशङ्कायां निरस्तायां सत्कारं स्तौति—

महोक्षः खट्वाङ्गं परशुरजिनं भस्म फणिनः
कपालं चेतीयत्तव वरद तन्त्रोपकरणम् ।
सुरास्तां तामृद्धिन्दधति च भवद्भ्रूप्रणिहितां
न हि स्वात्मारामं विषयमृगतृष्णा भ्रमयति ।।८।।

टीका

हे वरद ! शम्भो ! तव इयत् एतावत् तन्त्रोपकरणं परिच्छेदसामग्री । किन्तदित्याह्--महोक्षः महान् उक्षा वृषभः । खट्वाङ्गपर्वा इति प्रसिद्धोऽस्त्र विशेषः । परशुः फरुशा इत्यस्त्रविशेषः । अजिनं चर्मविशेषः । भस्म विभूतिः । फणिनः सर्पाः च पुनः कपालं मनुष्यशिरोऽस्ति,--इत्यनेन प्रकारेण यद्यपि तवेयं परिच्छेदसामग्री तथापि सुरा देवा भवद्भ्रूप्रणिहितां भवद्दृष्टिमात्रार्पितां तामनिर्वचनीयामृद्धिं दधति धारयन्ति । देवानामपि यस्य भ्रूप्रणिहिता समृद्धिस्तस्य कथमियं परिच्छेदसामग्रीत्यत आह् न हीति । हि यतः विषयमृगतृष्णा विषयविषयिणी भ्रान्तिः स्वात्मारामं न भ्रमयति न भ्रान्तं

करोति । परमोत्कृष्टात्मनि यो रमते स स्वात्मारामः । कुटिलकृत्ये स्यात् सिद्धान्ते चौषधोत्तमे प्रधाने तन्तुवाये च शास्त्रभेदे परिच्छेद इति मेदिनीकारः (?) ॥८॥

अथ स्तुतिप्रकारमाह—

ध्रुवं कश्चित्सर्वं सकलमपरस्त्वध्रुवमिदं
परो ध्रौव्याध्रौव्ये जगति गदति व्यस्तविषये ।
समस्तेऽप्येतस्मिन् पुरमथन तैर्विस्मित इव
स्तुवञ्जिह्रेमि त्वां न खलु ननु धृष्टा मुखरता ॥९॥

टीका

ननु सम्बोधने । हे पुरमथन पुरारे ! एतस्मिन् समस्ते जगति संसारे तैः प्रकारैः-स्तुवन् जिह्रेमि लज्जामि ? [लज्जे] । क इव विस्मित इव गर्विष्ठ इव । तथा चापरिच्छिन्न-बुद्धिरपि व्यापक इव भवन्तं स्तुवीमहि । लज्जाप्रकारमाह कश्चित् सांख्यमतानुसारी सर्वं जगत् घटपटात्मकं ध्रुवं नित्यं गदति । अपरः सकलं जगत् अध्रुवं क्षणिकं वदति । परो नैयायिकः एतस्मिञ्जगति ध्रौव्याध्रौव्ये नित्यानित्यत्वे गदति वक्ति । ध्रौव्याध्रौव्ये कीदृशे व्यस्तविषये विरुद्धविपयिणि आकाशादयो नित्या घटादयो ह्यनित्या । तु आवृत्तौ । यद्वा तैः प्रकारैस्त्वां स्तुवन् जिह्रेमि लज्जामि [लज्जे] । क इव विस्मित इव जातचमत्कार इव । यथा कश्चिदद्भुतं दृष्ट्वा विस्मितस्तत्परत्वात् दोषोपहासमगणयन् विचेष्टते तथाहमपि स्तोतुमज्ञानास्ति [नोस्ति] इति जनो लोको मामुपहसिष्यतीति लज्जा-मगणयन् त्वत्स्तुतौ प्रवृत्तोऽस्मीत्यर्थः । ननु परिच्छिन्नबुद्धिश्चेल्लज्जसे तदा कथं स्तौ-पीत्यत आह—यत् मुखरता वावदूकता धृष्टा न भवति । अपि तु धृष्टैव भवति । शिरश्चालने नकारः । तथा च वावदूकतया यत् कथ्यते तत् न तु ज्ञानेनेत्यर्थः ॥९॥

एवं स्तुतिसामग्र्यां निरूपितायां हरिरिव तस्यापि त्वत्प्रसादादेव माहात्म्यमिति प्रकटयन् स्तौति—

तवैश्वर्यं यत्नाद् यदुपरि विरिञ्चिर्हरिरधः
परिच्छेत्तुं जाता [याता] वनलमनलस्कन्धवपुषः ।
ततो भक्तिश्रद्धाभरगुरुगृणद्भ्यां गिरिश यत्
स्वयं तस्थे ताभ्यां तव किमनुवृत्तिर्न फलति ॥१०॥

टीका

हे गिरिश ! तव यदैश्वर्यं तत्परिच्छेत्तुं यत्नादियत्तया ज्ञातुमुपरि ब्रह्मा अधः हरिः विष्णुः यातौ गतौ । परन्तु अनलं न समर्थौ । तत्तस्माद्विशिष्यगुणौ परिचयाद् भक्ति-

श्रद्धाभरगुरु यथा स्यादेवं गृणद्भ्यां यत् तस्थे स्थितं तत्तस्याज्ञाने तवानुवृत्तिरनुगमनं किन्न फलति अपितु फलत्येव । तथा च भवद्गुणापरिज्ञानेन भवन्तं स्तुवद्भ्यामपि ताभ्यां यत् स्थितं स्तुतिप्रवृत्ताभ्यामिति विशेषः तत्रापि तवैव महिमा । भवदनुग्रहेणैव स्तुतिरपि सम्पत्स्यते इति भावः । तव पुनः किंभूतस्य अनलस्कन्धवपुषः तेजः पुञ्जमूर्तेः । भक्तिः कायिकी सेवा, श्रद्धा मनसाऽधिकवुद्धिस्तयोर्भर आधिक्यं, तेन गुरु श्रेष्ठं यथा स्यादेवम् । तथा च त्वदीयगुणापरिज्ञानेनापि ताभ्यां कायवाङ्मनोभिस्त्वदीया सेवा क्रियते । स्कन्धः स्यान्नृपतावंसे सम्परायसमूहयोरिति मेदिनीकारः ।।१०।।

अथ सुरारीणामपि भवद्भक्त्यैव तादृशी शक्तिरिति दर्शयन् स्तौति--

अयत्नादापाद्य त्रिभुवनमवैरिव्यतिकरं
दशास्यो यद्बाहूनभृत रणकण्डूपरवशान् ।
शिरःपद्मश्रेणीरचितचरणाम्भोरुहबलेः
स्थिरायास्त्वद्भक्तेस्त्रिपुरहर ! विस्फूर्जितमिदम् ।।११।।

टीका

हे त्रिपुरहर ! त्रिपुरनाशन दशास्यो दशाननः रावणः यद्बाहून् भुजान् अभृत इदं त्वद्भक्तेर्विस्फूर्जितं कारितम् । किं कृत्वा अयत्नात्त्रिभुवनमासाद्य यत्नमन्तरा त्रैलोक्यं प्राप्येत्यर्थः । भक्तेः किम्भूतायाः शिरःपद्मश्रेणीरचितचरणाम्भोरुहबलेः । यासां [यस्य] शिरांस्येव पद्मानि अर्थाद्रावणस्य तेषां श्रेणी पंक्तिस्तया विरचितचरणाम्भोरुहबलिः पूजा यस्यां तस्याः । त्रिभुवनं कीदृशमवैरिव्यतिकरं न विद्यते वैरिणां व्यतिकरः संबन्धो यत्र । बाहून् कीदृशान् रणकण्डूपरवशान् रणे संग्रामे या कण्डूः स्पृहेति यावत् तत्परवशान् तदायत्तान् । तथा च कस्याप्येकस्य विंशतिबाहवो न दृष्टास्तस्य यद्दृश्यन्ते त्वत्प्रसादा देवेति भावः । बलिः पूजोपहारयोरित्यमरः । बलेनैव निवर्तते बलाभावात् कण्डूतेरप्यभावो न तत्तदायत्तत्वं बाहूनामिति बले कण्डू इत्यत्र निमित्तसप्तमी [?] । आपाद्येति पातेस्त्रिभुवनमवैरिव्यतिकरं आपाद्य आसाद्य । अवैरव्यतिकरमिति क्वचित्पाठे तत्र न विद्यते वैरस्य विरोधस्य व्यतिकरः कारणं दर्पादि यत्र तत्तथा । अथ व्यतिकरः पुंसि व्यसनव्यतिषङ्गयोरिति मेदिनीकारः । रावणेन स्वहस्तकृत्तनवशिरोभिः शम्भोश्चरणपूजा कृतेति पुराणवार्ता । भक्तेः कथं भूतायाः अनेककल्पस्थायिन्याः । तथा च कल्पान्तरे कृता भक्तिः कल्पान्तरे फलतीति ध्वनिः । यद्वा स्थिरायाः निश्चलायास्तेनान्वयव्यभिचारो न भवति ।।११।।

अथ रावणस्यानुग्रहं दर्शयति—

अमुष्य त्वत्सेवासमधिगतसारं भुजवनं
बलात्कैलासेऽपि त्वदधिवसतौ विक्रमयतः ।
अलभ्या पातालेप्यलसचलिताङ्गुष्ठशिरसि
प्रतिष्ठा त्वय्यासीद्ध्रुवमुपचितो मुह्यति खलः ।।१२।।

टीका

हे त्रिपुरहर! अमुष्य रावणस्य पूर्वोक्तस्य प्रतिष्ठा अवस्थितिः पातालेऽप्यलभ्या अप्राप्या आसीत्। वस्तुतस्तु प्रतिष्ठागौरवं मर्यादेति यावत् सा चावस्थिता [त] वैव पर्याप्नोति। अमुष्य कीदृशस्य, कैलासे कैलासोत्पाटननिमित्तं, अपिर्भिन्नक्रमः। तेन त्वदधिवसतावपीत्यन्वयः। कैलासे कीदृशे त्वदधिवसतौ त्वदधिवसतिस्थाने बलात् भुजवनं काननं विक्रमयतः शौर्येण व्यापारयतः। भुजवनं कीदृशं त्वत्सेवासमधिगतसारं त्वत्सेवया समधिगतः सारो बलम्। तथा च त्वत्सेवया बलमासाद्य त्वद्भवनमेवोत्पाटयतीति कृता कस्मिन्नसति [?] त्वयि अलसचलिताङ्गुष्ठशिरसि सति, अलसं यथा स्यादेवं चलितं पतितमङ्गुष्ठस्य शिरो येन। एतादृशो महान् रावणः कथमेवं कृतवानित्यत आह--खलो दुष्टः कृतघ्नः उपचितः सन् मुह्यति। तथा च रावणोऽनुग्रहेणैव इन्द्रमपि जिगाय, भवदवज्ञया पातालेऽपि नावस्थितिमत्रापेति भावः। अलसचलितेति पाठान्तरं तत्रालसं मन्दं यथास्यादेवं कम्पितमङ्गुष्ठस्याग्रं येन। तथा च तवाङ्गुष्ठस्य कम्पनमात्रेणैव तस्य वीराभिमानिनो रावणस्याधः प्रवेशः शवय प्रतीकार एवासीदित्यर्थः। कैलासोत्पाटनभीता पार्वती भवन्तं निर्यातनीया [इति तन्निर्यातनाय] अर्थितवती स च शनैरङ्गुष्ठमात्रं चालयामास तावदेव क्षीणशक्ती रावणः अधः पपात पातालमगादिति पुराणवार्ता। वनं नपुंसकं नीरे निवासालयकानने इति मेदिनी ।।१२।।

अधुना रावणस्योन्नतिं दर्शयन् स्तौति--

यदृद्धिं सूत्राम्णो वरद परमोच्चैरपि सती-
मधश्चक्रे वाणः परिजनविधेयत्रिभुवनः।
न तच्चित्रं तस्मिन् वरिवसितरि त्वच्चरणयो-
र्न कस्याप्युन्नत्यै भवति शिरसस्त्वय्यवनतिः ।।१३।।

टीका

हे वरद! वाणो दैत्यविशेषः सूत्राम्ण इन्द्रस्य परमुच्चैरपि सतीं सर्वोपरिगतां सर्वाधिकामिति यावत् ऋद्धिं समृद्धिं यदधश्चक्रे अतिनीचां कृतवान् तत् तस्मिन् वाणे न चित्रं नाश्चर्यजनकम्। वाणः कीदृशः परिजनविधेयत्रिभुवनः परिजनस्याज्ञाकरस्य विधेयमायत्तं त्रिभुवनं त्रैलोक्यं यस्य सः। तस्मिन् कीदृशे त्वच्चरणयोर्वरिवसितरि भवच्चरणपरिचर्यापरे। कथमेवमित्यत आह त्वयि शिरसः अवनतिः त्वयि विषयिणी मस्तकस्य नम्रता कस्य उन्नत्यै न भवति। तथा च सर्वविधोन्नतिकारिकेत्यर्थः। परिजनविधेय इत्यनेन तस्य परिजनेनैव त्रैलोक्यं साध्यते स भवत्परिचर्य्यापर इत्यर्थः। तेनैश्वर्यं भक्तिश्च सूच्यते। गिरिश इति क्वचित्पाठः। तेन गिरिश इति बोद्धव्यम्। वरिवस्या तु शुश्रूषा परिचर्य्याप्युपासनेत्यमरः। सूत्रामा गोत्रभिद्वज्रीत्यमरः। अवनतिरप्युन्नतिहेतुरित्यतिशयेन भक्तिकारकस्यार्थान्तरन्यासः सर्वोत्कृष्टत्वमचिन्त्यमहिमत्वं भगवतः सूचयतीति भावः ।।१३।।

अथासत्कर्मणापि श्रीरिति दर्शयन् भगवतो निर्लेपत्वं ख्यापयति——

अकाण्डब्रह्माण्डक्षयचकितदेवासुरकृपा-
विधेयस्यासीद् यस्त्रिनयन विषं संहृतवतः ।
स कल्माषः कण्ठे तव न कुरुते न श्रियमहो
विकारोऽपि श्लाघ्यो भुवनभयभङ्गव्यसनिनः ॥१४॥

टीका

हे त्रिनयन ! विषं संहृतवतस्ते तव कल्माषः श्यामिका आसीत्, स तव कण्ठे श्रियं न कुरुते अपि तु कुरुते करोत्येव । तव कीदृशस्य अकाण्डब्रह्माण्डक्षयचकितदेवासुरकृपाविधेयस्य । अकाण्डमाकस्मिकं विषज्वालया ब्रह्माण्डस्य क्षयो नाशस्तेन चकितौ यौ देवासुरौ ताभ्यां या कृपा तस्या विधेयस्यायत्तस्य । निर्दोषस्यापि भगवतः कथं विकारजनितो दोषो नासीदित्यत आह अहो आश्चर्ये भुवनभयभङ्गव्यसनिनः विकारोऽपि श्लाघ्य एव । भुवनानां विश्वेषां भयभङ्गे भयनाशे व्यसनिनो यतमानस्य विकारेणापि निर्दोषतैव । तथा भगवतो निर्लेपस्य संस्पर्श इति भावः । यद्वा परोपकारार्थकृतविकारस्यापि दोषाभाव इति भावः । विधेयो वचनग्राही वचने स्थित आश्रव इत्यमरः । कल्माषः यातुधानेऽपि कृष्णपाण्डरकृष्णयोरिति मेदिनीकारः ॥१४॥

अथ देवासुरनरोपमर्दकत्वे परमेश्वरं स्तौति—

असिद्धार्था नैव क्वचिदपि सहदेवासुरनरे
निवर्तन्ते नित्यं जगति जयिनो यस्य विशिखाः ।
स पश्यन्नीश त्वामितरसुरसाधारणमभूत्
स्मरः स्मर्तव्यात्मा नहि वशिषु पथ्यः परिभवः ॥१५॥

टीका

हे ईश ! सुप्रसिद्धः स्मरः कामः त्वामितरसुरसाधारणमन्यदेवमिव पश्यन् विलोकयन् स्मर्तव्यात्मा भस्मसादभूत् । स कः । यस्य विशिखाः बाणाः सदेवासुरनरे [देवदानव] मनुष्यसहिते जगति [त्रैलोक्ये] क्वचिदपि असिद्धार्था अकृतकार्या न निवर्तन्ते न यान्ति । विशिखाः कथंभूताः जयिनः जयशालिनः । घृणाक्षरत्वं परिहरति नित्यमिति, सर्वत्र विजयी । कथमीशो [विनाशहेतुर] भूदित्यत आह——हि यतः वशिषु जितेन्द्रियेषु परिभवोऽभिभवः पथ्यो न भवतीति । आत्मा पुंसि स्वभावेऽपि प्रयत्नमनसोरपीति मेदिनीकारः ॥१५॥

अथ निन्दामुखेन भगवन्तं स्तौति—

मही पादाघाताद्व्रजति सहसा संशयपदं
पदं विष्णोर्भ्राम्यद् भुजपरिघरुग्णग्रहगणम् ।
मुहुर्द्यौर्दौःस्थ्यं यात्यनिभृतजटाताडिततटा
जगद्रक्षायै त्वं नटसि ननु वामैव विभुता ॥१६॥

टीका

हे ईश ! त्वं जगद्रक्षायै नटसि । तथा च जगद्रक्षायै दैत्यप्रतारणार्थं च ते नृत्ये प्रवृत्तिः, न तु वातपुत्रीतयेति । ननु यदर्थं समारम्भस्तद्विरुद्धार्थं दृश्यते इत्यत आह--मही पादा (?) [घाताद् ताण्डवसमये पादविक्षेपाद् सहसा संशयपदं सङ्कटं व्रजति, तथा विष्णोः] पदमाकाशं भ्राम्यद् भुजपरिघरुग्णग्रहगणं भवतीति शेषः । भ्राम्यद्विद्यमानभ्रमिप्रतियोगी भुज एव यः परिघो अर्गला तेन रुग्णो व्यस्तो ग्रहगणो रव्यादिर्यत्र तादृशः । द्यौः स्वर्गः मुहुर्वारम्वारं दौस्थ्यं याति दुरवस्थां याति। द्यौः कीदृशी अनिभृतजटाताडिततटा अनिभृता प्रकाशशीलिनी जटा तया ताडितसमीपा । अथ विरोधं परिहरति—ननु हे विभुता ईशिता वामैव भवति । वामा विपरीता। तथा चान्यार्थे प्रवृत्तान्यार्थं प्रतिपादयति स्वाभाव्यादिति । यद्वेष्टार्थे प्रवृत्तानिष्टार्थमापादयति। यथा नृपतिरपि स्वदेशे रक्षार्थं प्रतिपक्षहननोद्यतोऽस्वदेशीयस्यादिकं (?) नाशयति किमु परमेश्वर इति। परिघो योगभेदेऽस्त्रविशेषेर्ऽगलघातयोरिति मेदिनीकारः । द्यौदिवौ द्वे स्त्रिया मित्यमरः ॥१६॥

अथ सर्वतो वैलक्षण्यं दर्शयन् स्तौति—

वियद्व्यापी तारागणगुणितफेनोद्गमरुचिः
प्रवाहो वारां यः पृषतलघुदृष्टः शिरसि ते ।
जगद्द्वीपाकारं जलधिवलयं तेन कृतमि-
त्यनेनैवोन्नेयं धृतमहिम दिव्यं तव वपुः ॥ १७ ॥

टीका

हे धृतमहिम ! इत्यनेन प्रकारेण तवैव वपुः शरीरमुन्नेयमनुमेयम् । सर्वतो वैलक्षण्यमिति भावः । कथमित्याह--वियदिति । ते तव शिरसि मस्तके यः वारां प्रवाहः जलानां समूहः पृषतलघु यस्मादेवं दृष्टः, तेन प्रवाहेण जगद्द्वीपाकारं कृतम् । पृषतोऽम्बुकणास्तद्वल्लघुर्ह्रस्व इति यावत् । प्रवाहः कीदृशः वियद्व्यापी वियदाकाशं व्याप्नोतीति । पुनः कीदृशस्तारागणगुणितफेनोद्गमरुचिः । तारागणेन नक्षत्रगणेन गुणितोऽनुमितो यः फेनोद्गमस्तद्वत्कान्तिर्यस्य । जगत् कीदृशं जलधिवलयं जलधिः समुद्रः वलयः कङ्कणमावरकत्वाविशेषादिति । वपुः कीदृशं दिव्यं दिविभवं सर्वदेव नियामकमिति यावत् । लघुरगुरौ च मनोज्ञे निस्सारे वाच्यवदिति मेदिनीकारः । पृषत्स्थूला [? मृगे] पुमान् विन्दौ न द्वयोः पृषतेऽपि नेत्यपि । वार्वारि सलिलं कमलं जलमित्यमरः । धृतमहिमेति वपुषो विशेषणमिति कश्चित् ॥ १७ ॥

अथ त्रिपुरनाशकत्वेन भवन्तं स्तौति—

रथः क्षोणी यन्ता शतधृतिरगेन्द्रो धनुरथो
रथाङ्गे चन्द्रार्कौ रथचरणपाणिः शर इति ।
दिधक्षोस्ते कोऽयं त्रिपुरतृणमाडम्बरविधिः
विधेयैः क्रीडन्त्यो न खलु परतन्त्राः प्रभुधियः ।। १८ ।।

टीका

हे त्रिपुरहर ! इत्यनेन प्रकारेण तवायं कः आडम्बरविधिः परिच्छेदप्रकारः । तव कथं भूतस्य त्रिपुरतृणदिधक्षोः । त्रिपुरमेव यत्तृणं तद्दिधक्षोः दग्धुमिच्छोः । अयं कः विधिः परिच्छेदप्रकारः इत्याह रथः क्षोणी पृथ्वी, यन्ता सारथिः शतधृतिर्ब्रह्मा, अगेन्द्रो हिमालयः मेरुर्वा धनुश्चन्द्रार्कौ रथाङ्गे चक्रे रथचरणपाणिः चक्रपाणि शर इति समाधत्ते । खलु यतः प्रभुधियो विशुद्धबुद्धयः परतन्त्रा न भवन्ति स्वाधीना एव भवन्ति प्रभुधियः कथंभूताः विधेयैः कर्तव्यैः क्रीडन्त्यः यथा खेलन्त्यः इति । तथा च जगदेवेच्छामात्रेण संहरतस्तव इयं सामग्री आडम्बरमात्रमिति । चतुर्मुखः शतधृतिर्विरथेयाश्रवाविधिरिति नामलिङ्गानुशासनम् ।। १८ ।।

अथ विष्णुभक्ति दर्शयन् स्तौति—

हरिस्ते साहस्रं कमलबलिमाधाय पदयो-
र्यदेकोने तस्मिन् निजमुदहरन्नेत्रकमलम् ।
गतो भक्त्युद्रेकः परिणतिमसौ चक्रवपुषा
त्रयाणां रक्षायै त्रिपुरहर जागर्ति जगति ।।१९।।

टीका

हे त्रिपुरहर ! त्रिपुरनाशन ! असौ भक्त्युद्रेकः भक्तेराधिक्यं त्रयाणां जगतां रक्षायै जागर्ति । असौ कः यद्धरिः विष्णुः निजं नेत्रकमलमुदहरत् उत्पाटयामास । कस्मिन् सति साहस्रं कमलबलिं कमलानां बलिं पूजोपकरणमाधाय गमनयामास [पूजयामास] एकोने एतस्मिन् भक्त्युद्रेकः कीदृशश्चक्रवपुषा परिणतिं गतः तथा चक्रमेव भूत्वा परिणतो वभूवेति भावः । कमलानां सहस्रमादाय महेश्वरं पूजितुमुद्यते विष्णौ तद्भक्तिपरीक्षार्थमेव महेश्वरः कमलमेकमचोरयत् तदा कमलनयनो विष्णुस्तत्पूरणाय स्वनेत्रमेवोत्पाटच प्रददाविति पुराणवार्ता ।।१९।।

अथ यः कश्चिन्मीमांसकः कर्म मन्यमानः कर्मजनितादपूर्वादेव फलम्, किमीश्वरेणेत्याह तन्निराकुर्वन् स्तौति—

क्रतौ सुप्ते जाग्रत्त्वमसि फलयोगे क्रतुमतां
क्व कर्म प्रध्वस्तं फलति पुरुषाराधनमृते ।
अतस्त्वां संप्रेक्ष्य क्रतुषु फलदानप्रतिभुवं
श्रुतौ श्रद्धां बद्ध्वा दृढपरिकरः कर्मसु जनः ।।२०।।

टीका

हे त्रिपुरहर ! क्रतौ यागे सुप्ते नष्टे सति क्रतुमतां याज्ञिकानां फलयोगे फलसंबन्धे सति त्वमेव जागर्त्त असि [जाग्रत् असि] फलार्पकोऽसि । याग एव साक्षान्न किञ्चित्फल-मर्पयति । क्रतुप्रध्वस्तं कर्म विनाशी यागः पुरुषाराधनेन विना पुरुषाराधनमृते परमेश्वर भक्तिमन्तरा क्व फलति कुत्र फलार्पकं भवति । अपि तु न क्वापीति भावः । याग-तश्चैतत् साक्षात्फलं भवत्येव न । तदा कथं तत्प्रवृत्तिरित्यत आह––यत्परमेश्वरमन्तरा न फलसिद्धिः अत एव जनो लोकः कर्मसु यागेषु दृढ़परिकरः स्थिरारम्भो भवति । किं कृत्वा क्रतुषु यागेषु त्वां फलदानप्रतिभुवं फलावाप्तिलग्नकं समीक्ष्य सम्यक् प्रकारेण दृष्ट्वा । परमेश्वर एव फलदातेति कथं निर्णीयत इत्यत्राह--श्रुतौ वेदे तु श्रद्धां बध्वा वेदाः प्रमाण-मेवेति निश्चित्य । तथा च वेदेन बोध्यते यथा यागस्यापि परमेश्वर एव फलदातेति । ननु यागेनादृष्टं जन्यते तेन च सुखादि फलं जन्यते इति संप्रदायः । तत्र क्व परमेश्वरो-पयोग इति चेन्न अदृष्टं हि लोकावगतकारणमपेक्ष्य फलं जनयेत् अथ तत्सापेक्षम्वा ? नाद्यः, तत्तत्फलतःसाधनीभूत शरीरेन्द्रियादिकमपि नापेक्ष्यत तदनपेक्षया कर्मकारणभाव एव नश्येत् । न द्वितीयः, तदा लोकावगतकारणवदीश्वरापेक्षाप्यावश्यकं लोके । ईश्वरप्रेरितं गच्छेत् स्वर्गं वा स्वभ्रमेव वेति दर्शनात् कृतपरिकर इति क्वचित् पाठः । तत्र कृतः परिकरः उद्यमो यत्रेत्यर्थः । वस्तुतस्तु परमेश्वरेणादृष्टस्यान्यथासिद्धेरदृष्टे न किमपि साधकमिति भावः ॥२०॥

परमेश्वरः प्रसन्नश्चेत् याज्ञिकस्येष्टसिद्धिसम्पादकः, अप्रसन्नश्चेत् याज्ञिकस्यैव नाशक इति प्रतिपादयन् स्तौति––

क्रियादक्षो दक्षः क्रतुपतिरधीशस्तनुभृता-
मृषीणामार्त्विज्यं शरणद सदस्याः सुरगणाः ।
क्रतुभ्रंशस्त्वत्तः क्रतुषु फलदानव्यसनिनो
ध्रुवं कर्तुः श्रद्धाविधुरमभिचाराय हि मखाः ॥२१॥

टीका

हे शरणद आश्रितपालक दक्षः दक्षनाम प्रजापतिः क्रतुपतिः याज्ञिकः सोऽभवत् । दक्षः कीदृशः क्रियादक्षः क्रियासु यज्ञादिषु दक्षः प्रवीणः । तनुभृतां प्राणिनामीशः प्रभुः । तत्र यागे ऋषीणामत्रिप्रभृतीनामार्त्विज्यमृत्विजत्वम् । तत्र सुरगणाः ब्रह्मादयः सदस्याः सदुपदेष्टारः । यद्यपीयं सर्वोत्कर्षसमुदिता सामग्री [तथापि] त्वत्तः महेश्वरात् क्रतुभ्रंश आसीत् । त्वत्तः कीदृशात् क्रतुषु यागेषु फलदानव्यसनिनः । फलदाने फलार्पणे व्यसन-मौत्सुक्यं यस्य तस्मात् । ननु यागफलसंपादकात् कथं यागभ्रंश आसीदित्यत आह ध्रुव-मिति । हि यतः ध्रुवं निश्चितमेव परमेश्वरविषये श्रद्धाविधुरं श्रद्धारहितं यथा स्यात् । एवमारब्धमखाः आरब्धयागाः कर्तुः याज्ञिकस्याभिचाराय नाशाय भवन्ति । तथा च महेश्वरप्रसन्ने [?] वाप्रसन्ने वाधर्मो याज्ञिकस्य नाशाय जायत इतिभावः ॥२१॥

असत्कर्मभिरस्य मृगरूपिणो निग्रहं प्रतिपादयन् स्तौति—

प्रजानाथं नाथ प्रसभमभिकं स्वां दुहितरं
गतं रोहिद्भूतां रिरमयिषुमृष्यस्य वपुषा ।
धनुष्पाणेर्यातं दिवमपि सपत्राकृतममुं
त्रसन्तं तेऽद्यापि त्यजति न मृगव्याधरभसः ॥२२॥

टीका

हे नाथ ते तव मृगव्याधरभसः आखेटकोत्साहः अमुं प्रजानाथं ब्रह्माणमद्यापि न त्यजति । कथंभूतस्य धनुष्पाणेः कार्मुकहस्तस्य, प्रजानाथं कीदृशं प्रसभं हठात्कारेण रोहिद्भूतां स्वां दुहितरं निजां कन्यां ऋष्यस्य वपुषा शरीरेण गतमुपसर्पन्तं रिरमयिषुं रमन्तमिच्छुं पुनः कीदृशमभिकं कामुकं पुनः कीदृशं दिवमपि यातं स्वर्गमुपगतम् । पुनः कीदृशं त्रसन्तं भीतं पुनः कीदृशं सपत्राकृतं बाणेनातिपीडितम् । तथा च त्वं प्रजापतेरपि शासकः किमुतास्मदादीनामिति भावः । मृगव्याधरभसः शव इति केचित् । गोकर्णपृषतेणर्ष्यरोहिताश्चमरो मृगाः इत्यमरः । सपत्रनिष्पत्रादतिव्यथने इत्यनेन डाच् प्रत्ययो भवति । तेन सपत्राकृतमिति सिद्धचति । ब्रह्मा स्वपुत्रीं सन्ध्यामतिप्रशस्तामतिसुरूपामवलोक्य कामशरपीडितस्तामुपागमत् । सा तु तं तथा विधमालोक्य मृगी बभूव । ब्रह्मा शिरोनक्षत्ररूपेण परिणतो बभूव । भगवत शरोप्यार्द्रानक्षत्ररूपेण परिणतो नाद्यापि तद निरुत्यजतीति (?) पौराणिकानां किंवदन्ती ॥२२॥

महेश्वरः पार्वत्या अनुकम्पया स्त्रैण [मात्मान] मदर्शयत् न तु वास्तवमेवेति प्रतिपादयन् भगवन्तं स्तौति—

स्वलावण्याशंसाधृतधनुषमह्नाय तृणवत्
पुरः प्लुष्टं दृष्ट्वा पुरमथन पुष्पायुधमपि ।
यदि स्त्रैणं देवी यमनिरत देहार्धघटना-
दवैति त्वामद्धा बत वरद मुग्धा युवतयः ॥२३॥

टीका

हे यमनिरत ! नियतेन्द्रिय ! पुरोऽग्रे पुष्पायुधं कन्दर्पं तृणवत्त्वया अह्नाय झटिति प्लुष्टं दग्धं दृष्ट्वापि यदि देवी पार्वती अद्धावत् तत्त्वतः देहार्धघटनात् शरीरार्धधारणमात्रेण त्वां स्त्रैणं स्त्रीलम्पटमवैति जानाति । बत कष्टे हे वरद ! तदाहं मन्ये युवतयः स्त्रियः मुग्धा अज्ञा भवन्ति । पुष्पायुधं कीदृशं स्वलावण्याशंसाधृतधनुषं स्वपदेन पार्वती तेन पार्वतीरूपाभिमानेन धृतं धनुर्येन तम् । तथाचार्धाङ्गे स्त्रीधारणमपि लीलामात्रम् । न च वस्तुतस्तव स्त्रीसंपर्क इति भावः ॥२३॥

स्वयममङ्गलशीलोऽपि भक्तेभ्यो मङ्गलप्रद इति प्रतिपादयन् स्तौति—

स्मशानेष्वाक्रीडा स्मरहर पिशाचाः सहचरा-
श्चिताभस्मालेपः स्रगपि नृकरोटीपरिकरः ।
अमङ्गल्यं शीलं तव भवतु नामैवमखिलं
तथापि स्मर्तॄणां वरद परमं मङ्गलमसि ।।२४।।

टीका

हे स्मरहर ! श्मशानेषु चितिस्थानेषु तव आक्रीडाः खेलयः, पिशाचाश्चिति स्थानस्थायिन , तव सहचराः मित्राणि, चिताभस्म चिताविभूतिः तव आलेपोऽनुलेपनं, तव स्रगपि मालापि नृकरोटीपरिकरः मनुष्यमांसास्थिसमूहः, नाम संभावनायाम् । एवमनेन प्रकारेण तवामङ्गल्यमशुभसूचकमखिलं सर्वमेव स्वभावो भवति । भवतु तथापि स्मर्तॄणाश्चिन्तकानां त्वं परमुत्कृष्टम्मङ्गलमसि । तथा च भवलीलामात्रमेतत् सर्वमिति-भावः । शिरोऽस्थनि नृकरोटीत्यमरः । हरस्मरहरो भर्ग इत्यमरः ॥२४॥

सर्वनाम्ना परमेश्वरं व्यवच्छिनत्ति––

मनः प्रत्यक्चित्ते सविधमभिधायात्तमरुतः
प्रहृष्यद्रोमाणः प्रमदसलिलोत्सङ्गितदृशः ।
यदालोक्याह्लादं ह्रद इव निमज्यामृतमये
दधत्यन्तस्तत्त्वं किमपि यमिनस्तत् किल भवान् ।।२५।।

टीका

त्वमानन्दात्मकं वस्तु अन्तः हृदय आलोक्य यमिनो योगिनः आह्लादं दधति धारयन्ति । किल निश्चये तद्भवानेव । तथा च शृङ्गग्राहिकया वक्तुं न शक्यते इत्यर्थः । किं कृत्वेव अमृतमये सुधापूर्णे ह्रदे निमज्योन्मज्य । किं कृत्वा प्रत्यगिन्द्रियं मनश्चित्ते आत्मनि अवधाय आरोग्यैकमनाभूत्वा । यमिनः कीदृशाः सविधं सप्रकारकं यथा स्यादेवं, आत्तमरुतो नियमितश्वासाः, पुनः कीदृशाः प्रहृष्यद्रोमाणः पुलकितशरीराः, पुनः कीदृशाः प्रमदसलिलोत्सङ्गितदृशः प्रमदो हर्षस्तज्जन्यं यत्सलिलं तत्सङ्गितदृशः आनन्दाश्रुपूरितचक्षुषः । तथालोक्य जितेन्द्रिया अपि एवं भवन्ति । तदेव त्वमसीति भावः ।।२५।।

अधुना अद्वैतसाधनं स्तौति––

त्वमर्कस्त्वं सोमस्त्वमसि पवनस्त्वं हुतवह-
स्त्वमापस्त्वं व्योम त्वमु धरणिरात्मा त्वमिति च ।
परिच्छिन्नामेवं त्वयि परिणता बिभ्रति गिरं
न विद्मस्तत्तत्त्वं वयमिह हि यत्त्वं न भवसि ।।२६।।

टीका

हे वरद ! परिणताः परिपक्वबुद्धयः वृद्धाः त्वयि एवमनेनप्रकारेण परिच्छिन्नामकलुषां गिरं वाणीं दधति धारयन्ति । तत्त्वं न विद्मो जानीमो यत्त्वं न भवसि । सर्वं ब्रह्ममयं जगदित्यादेः प्रकारमेवाह—त्वमर्कः सूर्यस्त्वं सोमश्चन्द्रस्त्वं पवनो वायुः, त्वं हुतवहो वह्निः, त्वमापो जलं त्वं व्योम आकाशः, त्वमु धरणिः पृथ्वी, त्वमात्मा पुरुषः असीति सर्वत्र संबध्यते इति वाक्यम् । प्ररिसमाप्तौ च शब्दस्तथा च त्वद्भिन्नेन सर्वं ये जानन्ति तदविद्यया विलसितमात्रम् । वस्तुतस्तु सर्वं त्वमेवासि परमार्थतः । एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म इत्यादेः [श्रवणात्] ॥२६॥

प्रत्यक्षस्त्वमनादिभिरद्वैतं व्यवस्थाप्यागमेन साधयन् स्तौति—

त्रयीन्तिस्रो वृत्तींस्त्रिभुवनमथो त्रीनपि सुरा-
नकाराद्यैर्वर्णैस्त्रिभिरभिदधत्तीर्णविकृति ।
तुरीयन्ते धाम ध्वनिभिरवरुन्धानमणुभिः
समस्तं व्यस्तं त्वां शरणद गृणात्योमिति पदम् ॥२७॥

टीका

हे शरणद अभयप्रद ! त्वमिति पदं समस्तं सामान्यतः, व्यस्तं विशेषतश्च गृणाति स्तौति । किं कुर्वन् त्रयीं वेदत्रयीमभिदधत् प्रतिपादयन् । कैः अकारोकारमकारात्मकैस्त्रिभिर्वर्णैस्तथा तिस्रो वृत्तीः जाग्रत्स्वप्नसुषुप्त्याख्याः अन्तःकरणावस्थाः । यद्वा उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितरूपाः । तथा त्रिभुवनमभिदधत् भूर्भुवःस्वरिति भेदात् । तथा त्रीन् सुरानभिदधत् ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वरभेदात् । अपिरनुक्तसमुच्चयार्थः । तेन ऋग्यजुःसामाख्यानभिदधत् । तेन ऋग्वेदो जाग्रदवस्था भूर्लोको ब्रह्मा चेत्यकारस्यार्थः । यजुर्वेदः स्वप्नावस्था भुवर्लोको विष्णुश्चेत्युकारस्यार्थः । सामवेदः सुषुप्त्यवस्था स्वर्लोको महेश्वरश्चेति मकारस्यार्थः । यद्वा अकाराद्यैर्वर्णैस्त्रिभिः सूरानभिदधदित्यन्वयः । पदं कीदृशं ते तव तुरीयं चतुर्थं धाम शिवतत्त्वरूपम् । [अणुभिर्ध्वनिभिरर्धमात्रारूपाभिः सूक्ष्मतयाणुत्वस्य प्लुतोच्चारणतया बहुवचनस्य सङ्गतिः] अवरुन्धानं धाम कीदृशं तीर्णवकृति तीर्णः परित्यक्तो विकृतिः विकारो येन निर्विकारमिति यावत् । जाग्रत्स्वप्नसुषुप्त्यवस्थास्तदपेक्षया धाम्नश्चतुर्थत्वन्तद्यथा हृदयात्कण्ठपर्यन्तं जाग्रदवस्थाया व्याप्तिः कण्ठतस्तालुपर्यन्तं स्वप्नावस्थाया व्याप्तिः । तालुतो ललाटपर्यन्तं सुषुप्त्यवस्थाया व्याप्तिः । ललाटात् कुण्डलिनीव्याप्ता शिवतनुपर्यन्तं तुरीया व्याप्तिः ॥२७॥

भगवन्नाम्नां सर्वसाधारण्यं प्रकटयन् स्तौति—

भवः सर्वो रुद्रः पशुपतिरथोग्रः सह महाँ-
स्तथा भीमेशानाविति यदभिधानाष्टकमिदम् ।
अमुष्मिन् प्रत्येकं प्रविचरति देव श्रुतिरपि
प्रियायास्मै धाम्ने प्रविहितनमस्योऽस्मि भवते ॥२८॥

टीका

हे वरद ! इत्यनेन प्रकारेण इदं यत्तवाभिधानाष्टकं श्रूयते। अमुष्मिन् वा भवानष्टके श्रुतिर्वेदः प्रत्येकं प्रतिनाम प्रविचरति । तथा च श्रुतिरेकैकं नाम विशेषेणाभिदधाति । इदं कतरदित्याह भवः शर्वः रुद्रः पशुपतिः अथ उग्रः सह महान् इति शब्देन महादेव इति यावत् । तथा च भीमेशानौ नामनी भीमः ईशानश्चेत्यष्टौ नामानि । अतो हेतौ अस्मै भवते [प्रविहित] नमस्योऽस्मि । प्रकर्षेण विहिता आरोपिता नमस्या नतिर्येन एतादृशः । प्रणिहितनमस्य इति क्वचित् पाठः सुगमः । एवं भवते कीदृशायात्मस्वरूपिणे । पुनः कीदृशाय धाम्ने ज्योतिःस्वरूपाय । यद्वा अमुष्मिन्नभिधानाष्टके श्रुतिरपि देवानां सुराणामपि श्रुतिः श्रवणं प्रविचरति । किं पुनरस्मदादीनामपीति ।।२८।।

अथ दुरूहमहिम्नत्वेन भगवन्तं स्तौति--

नमो नेदिष्ठाय प्रियदव दविष्ठाय च नमो
नमः क्षोदिष्ठाय स्मरहर महिष्ठाय च नमः ।
नमो वर्षिष्ठाय त्रिनयन यविष्ठाय च नमो
नमः सर्वस्मै ते तदिदमिति सर्वाय च नमः ।।२९।।

टीका

हे प्रियदव प्रियः प्रीतिपात्रम्, दवः अवन्त्यदेशो यस्यैतादृशाय तुभ्यन्नमः । तुभ्यं कीदृशाय नेदिष्ठायातिनिकटवर्तिने । पुनः कीदृशाय दविष्ठायातिदूरवर्तिने । हे स्मरहर कन्दर्पनाशक, तुभ्यं नमः । कीदृशाय क्षोदिष्ठाय अतिक्षुद्राय । पुनः कीदृशाय महिष्ठायातिमहते । हे त्रिनयन विषमलोचन तुभ्यं नमः । पुनः कीदृशाय वर्षिष्ठाय अतिवृद्धाय । पुनः कीदृशाय यविष्ठायातियूने । पुनः कीदृशाय सर्वस्मै सर्वस्वरूपाय । एवमत्यन्तविरुद्ध स्वरूपे भगवति नमस्कार एव युक्त इति योऽसि सोऽसि नमोऽस्तुते इति न्यायात् । अतएवोक्तमणोरणीयानिति । पुनः कीदृशाय तदिदमिति सर्वाय तत्परोक्षमित्यनेन प्रकारेण सर्वं यत्र तदिदमिति सर्वस्मै तेन सर्वाधिकाय तुभ्यन्नमः इति बोद्धव्यम् ।।२९।।

अथ सर्वसंक्षेपस्तुतिमुपहरति--

बहलरजसे विश्वोत्पत्तौ भवाय नमोनमः
जनसुखकृते सत्त्वस्थित्यै मृडाय नमोनमः ।
प्रबलतमसे तत्संहारे हराय नमोनमः
प्रमहसि पदे निस्त्रैगुण्ये शिवाय नमोनमः ।।३०।।

टीका

हे हर ! तुभ्यं नमोनमः अत्यादरे । तुभ्यं कीदृशाय विश्वोत्पत्तौ विश्वोत्पत्तिनिमित्तं बहलरजसे बहलन्तु तमसेः (?) द्वाभ्यामधिकं यस्य [तमःसत्त्वाभ्यामधिकं रजः

यस्य] तस्मै उद्रिक्तरजस इति यावत् । पुनः कीदृशाय भवाय भव [ति] यस्माज्जगदिति ब्रह्ममूर्तये इतियावत् । हे हर ! तत्संहारे विश्वसंहारमिति यावत् । प्रवलतमसे रजःसत्त्वाभ्यामधिकं तमो यस्य तस्मै तुभ्यं नमोनमः । कीदृशाय हराय हरतीति हरः, संहारकायेति यावत् । हे हर मृडाय सुखस्वरूपाय तुभ्यन्नमः । मृडसुखने इति धात्वनुसारात् । कीदृशाय सत्त्वस्थित्यै सत्त्वगुणस्य या स्थितिर्मर्यादा तद्रक्षायै । जनसुखकृते जनानां यत्सुखं तत्कारकाय सत्त्वोद्रिक्ताविति पाठः । सत्त्वोद्रिक्तौ सत्यां जनसुखकृते इति व्याख्या । सत्त्वोद्रेक इति वा पाठः । तत्र सति सप्तमी । हे हर तुभ्यं नमोनमः । कीदृशाय प्रमहसि प्रकृष्टतेजोमयस्थाने पदे शिवाय आनन्दस्वरूपाय । आनन्दं ब्रह्मणो रूपमित्यादेः [श्रवणात्] [पुनः] कीदृशाय निस्त्रैगुण्ये निर्गतं त्रिगुणानां भावस्त्रैगुण्यं तद्यथा स्यात्तेन सत्त्वगुणरजोगुणतमोगुणरहिते ।।३०।।

एवं स्तुत्यनर्हत्वं प्रतिपादयन् "ममत्वेतां वाणीमिति" पूर्वोक्तमुपसंहरति—

कृशपरिणति चेतः क्लेशवश्यं क्वचेदं-
क्व च तवगुणसीमोल्लंघिनी शश्वदृद्धिः ।
इति चकितममन्दीकृत्य मां भक्तिराधात्
वरद ! चरणयोस्ते वाक्यपुष्पोपहारम् ।।३१।।

टीका

हे वरद ! भक्तिर्माममन्दीकृत्याव्यग्रीकृत्य तव चरणयोराधात् आरोपयामास । मां कीदृशमिदं [मम] चेतः क्व तव शश्वन्नित्यमृद्धिः क्वेति कृत्वा चकितं व्यग्रीभूतं चेतः कीदृशं कृशपरिणति अल्पपरिमाणत्वात्स्वल्पविषयग्राहकं पुनः कीदृशं क्लेशवश्यं नानादुःखमयमृद्धिः कीदृशी गुणसीमोल्लंघिनी असंख्यगुणा मां कीदृशं वाक्यपुष्पोपहारं वाक्यमेव स्तुतिरूपं यत्पुष्पं तदेवोपहारमुपढौकनं यस्येति । भक्त्युद्रेकतया स्तुतौ वृत्तं तेन तत्र स्खलिते नापवाद इतिभावः । तथा च त्वद्भक्तिरेव सर्वदोषापनुत्तय इति भावः ।।३१।।

अथव द्ध्वा निर्वहणेन स्वलज्जां परिहरन्नाह—

असितगिरिसमं स्यात् कज्जलं सिन्धुपात्रे
सुरतरुवरशाखा लेखनी पत्रमुर्वी ।
लिखति यदि गृहीत्वा शारदा सर्वकालं
तदपि तव गुणानामीश पारं न याति ।।३२।।

टीका

हे ईश ! सिन्धुपात्रे असितगिरिसमं कज्जलं स्यात् । सिन्धुः सरस्वानेव यत्पात्रं मसीभाजनं तत्रासितगिरिरञ्जनपर्वतः तत्समं परिमाणकं चेत्कज्जलं मसी भवति । सुरतरुवरशाखा लेखनी भवति । सुरतरोः कल्पवृक्षस्य वरा महती या शाखा सा चेल्लेखनीकल्पो [ल्पा] भवति । उर्वी पृथ्वी पत्रं लेखाधारो भवति । शारदा सरस्वती

एतत्सर्वं गृहीत्वा यदि सर्वकालं सर्वदैव लिखति। तवगुणानिति विशेषः। तदपि तव गुणानां पारं न याति। तथा चैतत्सकलसामग्रीसंपत्त्यापि तव गुणाः वक्तुं न शक्यन्ते। किमुताल्पबुद्धिनाल्पसामग्रीकेनेति भावः। सिन्धुर्वमथुदेशाब्धिनदे ना सरिति स्त्रियामिति मेदिनीकारः ॥३२॥

ननु यस्य देवस्याशेषविशेषतो गुणा ज्ञायन्ते तस्य स्तुतिः क्रियतामित्याह—

महेशान्नापरो देवो महिम्नो नापरो स्तुतिः।
अघोरान्नापरो मन्त्रो नास्ति तत्त्वं गुरोः परम् ॥३३॥

टीका

हे जनाः! महेशात् अपरो अन्यः देवो द्युतिमान्नास्त्येव स्तुत्य इति शेषः। महिम्नः महिम्नाख्यस्तवात् अपरो अन्या स्तुतिर्नास्ति इष्टजनिकेति शेषः। अघोरादघोराख्यमन्त्रादपरो मन्त्रः नास्त्येव सिद्धिप्रद इति शेषः। गुरोः परं गुरुभिन्नमन्यदज्ञानतिमिरध्वंसकं न भवति। तथा च महेश्वरभिन्नः स्तव्यश्चेद्भवति तदा स्तूयेत इति भावः। हरिविरञ्च्योर्महेशात्मकतैव। महिम्नो नापरा स्तुतिरिति केचित्पठन्ति तदसत् महिम्न इत्यजन्तशब्दस्येति स्तोत्रप्रतिपादनमन्यथा महिम्नस्तोत्रपाठस्येत्यग्रिमग्रन्थविरोध एव स्यात् ॥३३॥

ननु अन्य एव धर्मः क्रियतां किमर्थमशक्यस्तुतिर्भगवान् स्तूयत इत्यत आह—

दानं दीक्षा तपस्तीर्थं ध्यानयागादिकाः क्रियाः
महिम्नस्तोत्रपाठस्य कलां नार्हन्ति षोडशीम् ॥३४॥

टीका

दीक्षा मन्त्रग्रहणं, दानं स्वस्वत्वनिवृत्तिपूर्वकं परसत्त्वोत्पत्तिप्रतिपादनं, तपः अनशनादिना शरीरशोषणं, तीर्थं तीर्थन्यासः तीर्थभिन्नदेशागमनमिति यावत्, ध्यानमिष्टदेवतायाः मनसा चिन्तनम्, याग इष्टिविशेष आदिग्रहणेन उपोषणादिव्रतपरिग्रहः। एताः क्रियाः महिम्नस्तोत्रपाठस्य षोडशीं कलां नार्हन्ति। तथा [च] महिम्नस्तवपाठेन यत्फलमवाप्यते तत्फलं [स्य] षोडशांशफलदायिका न भवन्ति इति [अन्याः धर्मक्रियाः न भवन्तीति] भावः ॥३४॥

एतत्सकलमभिसन्धायोपसंहरति––

याचेहं याचेहं शिव तव चरणारविन्दयोः भक्तिम्।
याचेहं याचेहं पुनरपि तामेव तामेव ॥३५॥

टीका

हे शिव! तव चरणारविन्दयोः चरण एव अरविन्दं कमलन्तयोर्भक्तिं याचे। भक्ते बलौत्सुक्यतया वारं वारं प्रार्थयन् भक्तिमेव वव्रे। पुनरपीति पुनः पुनः तामेव याचे। वरं भक्तिमेव याचे। नान्यं वरमिति भावः ॥३५॥

असुरसुरमुनीन्द्रैरर्चितस्येन्दुमौले-
र्ग्रथितगुणमहिम्नो निश्चलस्याव्ययस्य ।
सकलगुणगरिष्ठः पुष्पदन्ताभिधानः
रुचिरमलघुवृत्तैः स्तोत्रमेतच्चकार ।।३६।।

टीका

पुष्पदन्ताभिधानः पुष्पदन्त इत्यभिधेयो गन्धर्वराजः इन्दुमौलेर्महेश्वरस्य एतत्स्तोत्रं चकार कृतवान् । कीदृशस्य सुरासुरमुनीन्द्रैः सुरश्चासुरश्च मुनीन्द्राश्च तैरर्चितस्य पूजितस्य पुनः कीदृशस्य ग्रथितगुणमहिम्नः । पुनः कीदृशस्य निश्चलस्य अव्ययस्य । पुनः कीदृशस्य अलघुवृत्तैः । कीदृशं स्तोत्रं रुचिरं मनोहरम् । पुनः कीदृशः पुष्पदन्तः सकलगुणगरिष्ठः ।।३६।।

श्रीपुष्पदन्तमुखपङ्कजनिःसृतेन
स्तोत्रेण किल्बिषहरेण हरिप्रियेण ।
कण्ठस्थितेन पठितेन गृहस्थितेन
संप्रीणितो भवति भूतपतिर्महेशः ।।३७।।

टीका

पुष्पदन्तमुखपङ्कजनिर्गतेन श्री शोभा तद्योगियत् पुष्पदन्तनाम्नो गन्धर्वस्य मुखपङ्कजं तस्मान्निर्गतेन वस्तुतस्तु अतीतशोभापुष्पदन्तमुखपङ्कजात् पापादुदितं यन्मुखं तस्मात् निर्गतेन पापिष्ठानां स्तवेनापि चेत् परमेश्वरः प्रीणाति पापक्षयत्वं जायते किमुत धार्मिककृतेनेति भावः ।

नन्वेवं मूकानां स्तवोच्चारणाभावात् कथं फलसिद्धिरित्यत आह कण्ठस्थितेन । नन्वन्त्यजातीनां चिन्तनानर्हत्वेन कथं फलसिद्धिरित्यत आह गृहस्थितेनेति भावः ।।३७।।

निजकीर्तिरवनुर्णीय (?) स्वनाम निवध्नाति —

कुसुमदशननामा सर्वगन्धर्वराजः
शिशुशशधरमौलेर्देवदेवस्य दासः ।
स गुरुनिजमहिम्नो भ्रष्ट एवास्य रोषात्
स्तवनमिदमकार्षीद्दिव्यदिव्यं महिम्नः ।।३८।।

टीका

कुसुमदशनः पुष्पदन्तः शिशुशशधरमौलेर्बालचन्द्रशेखरस्य देवदेवस्य महेश्वरस्य महिम्नो महत्त्वस्य स्तवनं स्तुतिमकार्षीत् कृतवान् । स अस्य रोषात् गुरुनिजमहिम्नः भ्रष्ट एव इति ।। ३८ ।।

एतदेव पुनराह--

सुरगुरुमुनिपूज्यं स्वर्गमार्गैकहेतुं
पठति यदि मनुष्यः प्राञ्जलिर्नान्यचेताः ।
व्रजति शिवसमीपं किन्नरैः स्तूयमानः
स्तवनमिदममोघं पुष्पदन्तप्रणीतम् ।।३९।।

टीका

सुरगुरुः महेशः मुनिश्च तयोः पूज्यमिदं स्तवनम् । यदि मनुष्यः प्राञ्जलिः कृताञ्जलिः । नान्यचेता अनन्यमनाः पठति तदा शिवसमीपं व्रजति । कीदृशः किन्नरैः स्तूयमानः । स्तवनं कीदृशं स्वर्गमार्गैकहेतुम् । पुनः कीदृशममोघं पुष्पदन्तप्रणीतमिति ।।३९।।

टीकेयं रचिता सतामुपकृतिं कर्तुं महिम्नः स्तुतेः ।
प्रद्युम्नेन मुदे महोग्रमहसः श्रीचन्द्रसेनप्रभोः ।।
श्रीमद्भ्रातृमुखादवेत्य निखिलग्रन्थार्थमत्यादरा—
दाकल्पं कृतिनां मुदं वितनुतामासाद्य सत्संगतिम् ।।

इति खौआलवंशोद्भवश्रीभवानीनाथोपाध्यायात्मजश्रीमदनिरुद्धोपाध्यायानुजश्रीप्रद्युम्नशर्मणा विरचिता महिम्नस्तुतिवृत्तिः समाप्ता । शाके १६३९ आषाढासितपञ्चम्यां चन्द्रे वीअरवंशोद्भवश्रीप्रद्युम्नदासात्मजकरणश्रीनित्यानन्देन महिम्नस्तोत्रमिदं सटीकं लिखितमिति ।। नमोनमः शिवाय ।।

अहरहरनवद्यं धूर्जटेः स्तोत्रमेतत्
पठति लिखति तन्नो वीक्षते भूतसंघः ।
स भवति शिवलोके रुद्रतुल्यः पुमान् यः
प्रचुरतरधनाढ्यः पुत्रवान् कीर्तिमांश्च ।।*

पण्डितवर्यश्रीजयकिशोरझाशर्मणा समारब्धसम्पादनाया अस्याः महिम्नस्तोत्रटीकायाः पश्चात् सप्तमश्लोकव्याख्यामासाद्य श्रीकिशोरनाथझाशर्मणा गङ्गानाथझा-अनुसन्धान-संस्थानस्थितेन सम्पादनं विहितम् । अस्याष्टीकायाः हस्तलिखितं प्रति अस्मिन् संस्थान एव विद्यते ।



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All the titles of books and Journals as well as important Sanskrit or non-English words and Sanskrit or non-English quotations (if they are written in the Roman script) should be underlined and properly given diacritical marks as given below. Only popular proper names and common Sanskrit words should be left unmarked. Titles and places of publication or edition of books and Journals when referred to for the first time in a paper, should be given in full. Thereafter, their abbreviations should be used. Titles of papers or smaller pieces should ordinarily be given within inverted commas except when some kind of prominence or importance is to be attached to them and may then be simply underlined.

The address of the author should be given as foot-note at the bottom of the first page.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION INTO ROMAN

अ .... a	ं .... ṁ	ड् .... ḍ	र् .... r
आ .... ā	: .... ḥ	ढ् .... ḍh	ल् l
इ i	क् .... k	ण् .... ṇ	व् v
ई .... ī	ख् .... kh	त् .... t	श् .... ś
उ .... u	ग् .... g	थ् .... th	ष् .... ṣ
ऊ .... ū	घ् .... gh	द् .... d	स् .... s
ऋ .... ṛ	ङ् .... ṅ	ध् .... dh	ह् .... h
ॠ .... ṝ	च् c	न् .... n	क्ष् .... kṣ
ऌ .... ḷ	छ् .... ch	प् .... p	त्र् .... tr
ॡ .... ḹ	ज् .... j	फ .... ph	ज्ञ् .... jñ
ए .... e	झ् .... jh	ब् .... b	ळ् .... ḻ
ऐ .... ai	ञ .... ñ	भ् .... bh	ऽ .... '
ओ .... o	ट् .... ṭ	म् .... m	
औ .... au	ठ् .... ṭh	य् .... y	



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